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19 September 1980

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2294

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19 September 1980

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ETHIOPIA AIDS DJIBOUTI DROUGHT VICTIMS

Djibouti LA NATION DJIBOUTI in French 21 Aug 80 p 4

[Text] Acting in his capacity as chairman of the National Committee for Assistance to Refugees and Disaster Victims, Minister of Interior Idriss Farah Abaneh has officially accepted 2,000 tons of durra [sorghum] from Argaw Kabtamu, acting charge d'affaires at the Ethiopian Embassy in Djibouti. The durra is a gift from the provisional military government of socialist Ethiopia to the inhabitants of regions hit by drought.

The ceremony took place on Sunday 17 August in the compound housing the National Office for Assistance to Refugees and Disaster Victims (ONARST) in Djibouti.

In delivering the gift, Argaw said in a short address that "this modest aid symbolizes the friendly and fraternal ties that unite our two countries. It also expresses Ethiopia's desire to see a strengthening between the two brother countries of relations of cooperation and neighborliness in every area."

He continued, "Although Ethiopia is not a rich country, it wishes to share the little it has with its Djibouti brothers."

For his part, the minister of interior said that nearly 130,000 persons are affected by the drought in the Republic of Djibouti, and he emphasized that this aid "will support in large measure the efforts by the Djibouti Government, which, with the help of the international community and brother countries, is trying to bring the situation under control."

Here is the complete text of his speech.

"Mr Ambassador,

"Gentlemen,

"I take great pleasure in officially accepting the food aid that the brother government of socialist Ethiopia has just given to my country to enable it



to meet the critical situation caused by the drought that has prevailed in our region for 2 years.

"This gesture, Mr Ambassador, made despite the similar difficulties you are experiencing in your own country, is the noblest testimony to fellow feeling for the Republic of Djibouti and the most eloquent demonstration of the good neighbor policy and that of fraternal cooperation between our two countries.

"The gift of 2,000 tons of durra that we have just received will support in large measure the efforts by the Djibouti Government, which, with the help of the international community and brother countries, is trying to bring the situation under control.

"Nearly 130,000 persons are affected by the drought and in need of assistance in our interior districts. A good number of them have lost all their livestock; the others are fighting a harsh battle to save what little they have left. Hunger and thirst are a constant threat to them.

"My government has made every effort to prevent events from taking a tragic turn. No effort has been spared to mobilize all our domestic resources.

"That is why we fully appreciate this token of fraternal friendship that your country has just provided with respect to our inhabitants affected by this natural disaster, and I can assure you that they will be the only ones to benefit from this aid.

"In conclusion, Your Excellency, I ask you to speak for my government and its people in expressing all our gratitude to the brother people of socialist Ethiopia and their government."

11798

CSO: 4400

DISILLUSIONMENT OF WHITE ZIMBABWEANS IN SA

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Aug 80 pp 24-25

[Article by Marion Duncan (who emigrated from Rhodesia recently and is now a reporter on The Star)]

[Text] ~~Now~~ we're all Rhodesians and We'll fight through thick and thin,  
We'll keep our land a free land, stop the enemy coming in;  
We'll keep them north of the Zambezi, till that river's running dry,  
And this mighty land will prosper for Rhodesians never die.

Patriotic song by Clem Tholet, son-in-law of  
former Rhodesian Prime Minister Mr Ian Smith.

White Rhodesians--the "old soldiers" of the sub-continent in more ways than one--are fast fading away from Zimbabwe and flooding into South Africa.

The old war, the new war (burgeoning in pockets, constant radical anti-white diatribe, widespread Africanisation, a revamped medical system and overcrowded government education are combining to unsettle the remaining whites and drain yet more of them southwards.

Not so long ago the road to the Republic was the humorous subject of slang and nicknames: "The chicken run," the "yellow road," the "Beit Bridge 500," "taking the gap," "gapping it," and--more recently--the "Comrades' Marathon" and the "Banana Split" (after President Canaan Banana).

Now it is not so funny.

Nearly 50 000 people left Rhodesia between January 1977 and April this year (the month of the newly named nation's independence): 25 225--or 52,4 percent--have settled in South Africa.

Remarkable

Rhodesia has long been one of the main sources for immigrants to the Republic, occupying one of the top three slots in the statistical tables for the past 10 years.

Which is nothing short of remarkable for a tiny country whose total white population never (even in the heavy days of Federation) much exceeded 300 000.

Throughout the downturn decade of the seventies the only things that escalated were the never-declared war and inflation. The number of whites dwindled to 230 000 and further.

The month of June this year could still show a net loss to Zimbabwe of 719 whites--an improvement on the previous month, when the loss was 1 094.

In the first six months of this year Zimbabwe/Rhodesian statistics showed a net loss to the country of 4 430 whites.

But the actual emigration figures only tell a small part of the story.

The whole tragic truth lies in the tens of thousands of applications cluttering the offices of the South African Diplomatic Mission in Salisbury and the Department of the Interior in Pretoria--so many that the mission recently called for, and was granted, additional staff to cope.

#### Anxious

Sources in Salisbury said in June that 44 000 families had applied for permanent residence in South Africa--and that still more applications poured in after each anti-white radio and television commentary.

Rumours of the mission closing down caused lengthy queues of anxious applicants, and blocked the switchboard with pleading calls for advice: "Should I leave now?" "What happens to my papers if the mission closes?" "Will South Africa close the borders when the mission is thrown out?"

And when the order to close finally came last month, anxiety verged on hysteria.

Mission sources said the reaction was "frightening"--hundreds of whites appealed for application forms (which are not handed over unless the applicant can prove he has a permanent job offer in South Africa).

Said one staff member: "It was enough to make you cry. Heaven knows how many people begged--actually begged--for forms, and we had to turn them down.

"We could only recommend that they go down on holiday and try to find work, then come back and apply for permanent residence.

"It's the only way, unless they happen to have lived permanently in South Africa before. But there are very few like that left now."

## Documents

And that is the essence of the first problem facing whites who want to get from Zimbabwe to the golden South: the bureaucratic barrier.

There are dozens of forms demanding everything from parents' personal particulars to personal history, including such cute little requirements as a full list of every address where one has lived since the age of 16, total educational and employment experience and whether or not parent, grandparents or other remote member of the family has ever been mad of a communist.

There are affidavits to provide, declarations to be sworn, documents to be witnessed. And all original certificates of birth and marriage are demanded: copies are not accepted (which creates a problem when one's file goes missing, as has happened so many times.)

When all that is completed and returned, there follows a wait of six months to a year.

A desperate applicant, who came to South Africa on holiday in a determined attempt to persuade Pretoria to speed up said: "Most of my mates are in this position."

"After spending money to come down here to get a job — because South African companies don't reply to written applications — our prospective employers are expected to keep positions open for anything up to a year."

"What boss will do that? But if we lose the job before we start, we lose our right to apply for residence."

"I've spent most of the last five years in uniform. I went into the army right out of school for two years' national service — which messed up my apprenticeship plans — and for the last three years I've been in the bush for at least six months a year."

"I thought me and my mates were fighting as much for South Africa as for Rhodesia. It was their turn we were shooting (killing) as well as ours."

"But we don't get much thanks for it. I mean, I'm not running away or anything. Rhodesia has gone — it was killed. There is nothing in Zimbabwe for me."

## Transfer

When permanent residence is eventually granted there comes the second obstacle: Money. Emigrants are only allowed ZD1000 (R1200) a family or ZD800 (R810) for a single person. Subtracted from that is the dollar equivalent of any foreign currency taken for any holiday within the previous nine months.

I have personally known families of four and five leave Zimbabwe with ZD100 (R122) to ZD150 (R183) in their pockets.

And few South African companies provide or pay for accommodation for new immigrants, unless they are on transfer within the same organisation.

The stories of the struggle for survival in South Africa are better told in the new settlers' own words.

Mr Teddy J. "I arrived here in January. I am an artisan. Me and my wife and two kids — one is eight and one is 11 — crossed the border with ZD800 (R873). We'd sold our car in Bulawayo to get the money to pay for our furniture to be stored and sent down."

"We went into a hotel in the Hillbrow area — a really rotten place but it was all we could afford. I

had to start work straight away, so my wife looked for a place to live, trailing the kids with her."

"We couldn't find an unfurnished flat big enough anywhere in the city area. Houses were far too expensive to rent. So I had to go and ask my new boss for a loan to buy a house."

## Hostility

"I got it, eventually, and we got a small place. By this time I'd had to borrow more money from my boss just to feed the family."

"All this time we were running into an absolute wall of hostility. We've been called refugees, cowards, deserters. We've been accused of taking jobs away from South Africans. We've been insulted. We've even been accused of letting South Africa down because we 'surrendered' when Rhodesia became Zimbabwe."

"Then I found out, quite accidentally, that my salary was R600 a month less than a South African artisan with the same firm who has less experience than me. I'm being exploited because I came from Rhodesia. But what can I do?"

"I owe my boss so much money that I can't leave and get a higher paid job, and he's not likely to raise my salary until I've paid him back — which will take God knows how long."

"We're battling. The house cost a bloody fortune, transport is killing. My wife's been forced out to work because we can't survive on my salary alone. The kids are unhappy because of the change in our lifestyle and because they can't understand the lack of money."

"We left Zimbabwe because of our kids. We weren't going to let them grow up in a country where they're called white pigs over the radio and TV."

"I was in uniform. I fought in the bush and I've killed a few lemm."

### Lifetime

"I didn't run away. We were practically forced out — after a lifetime — because of the anti-white feeling that has been created, even though it was never there before."

"Now I'm a poor white, and likely to get poorer. Thank you South Africa, for sweet nothing, I had to take the first job offer I got just to get down here, and now I'm treated like dirt."

Mr Harry P. "I'm in commerce and I've been in South Africa since December with my wife and three children, aged three, five and 10."

"We took the decision to move because of our children, because we saw no future for them in Zimbabwe."

"At a conservative estimate, I would say that it has cost me nearly R1 500 just to get a permanent residence permit for this country, not to mention the cost of the move itself."

"I had to come down on holiday three times in six months just to find a job. My letters were never answered. Then it took eight months for our papers to come through, and I had

to come down, asked to look at the country and hand in the application."

### Exchange

"Every time I approached the Diplomatic Mission in Salisbury to ask about our applications I was met with rudeness. Three times they suddenly demanded other forms and affidavits, out of the blue. It nearly drove us mad. We were getting desperate."

"Then, when the permits were granted, we had a rush to get exchange control. We left Zimbabwe Rhodesia (as it was then) with \$200 (R244), and we were asked for duty on the car at the border, which we had been told by the Salisbury mission would not happen."

"We got into Johannesburg barely able to afford hamburgers for the family."

"Next day I went straight to my new company and asked for a loan, which they were decent enough to grant. Then came the search for a place to live, which was indescribable."

"What is the matter with this place? Rents are ridiculous, purchase prices are phenomenal — the whole real estate business seems to have taken leave of its senses."

"We ended up in an appalling area, had to borrow more money for the first month's rent and were forced into the realisation that my wife would have to work."

### 'Leper's'

"We nearly killed ourselves to find a decent primary school, which cost the earth and was miles away. We have transport problems because my wife works across the city from me."

"And on top of all that — as if it wasn't enough — we're treated like lepers. We've been blamed for everything that's wrong with South Africa, from the race problems to unemployment to shortage of accommodation."

"Quite frankly, I blame South Africa for everything that's wrong with Zimbabwe. Vorster forced us into agreeing to Kissinger, he forced us to release detainees, he literally forced us into one-man-one-vote. Majority rule then dumped us."

"The people here are totally ignorant about Rhodesia. They don't know that people like me — 35 years old — spent months of each year in uniform in the bush, risking our lives fighting terrorists that were as much South Africa's as ours. We don't expect to be showered with thanks, but we do expect to be accepted into society here and given a chance."

"We've taken a drop in living standards. We're in debt. We're unhappy. But we're prepared to stick it out and work for the future of this country."

"Doesn't that matter? It doesn't seem so."

### Betrayal

These two stories are common, average. A lot of white ex-Rhodesians are worse off, a few — very few — are better off."

Of 60 families interviewed, all are in financial trouble and all are bitterly disillusioned with South Africa and its people. They feel resented and resentful, distrusted and distrustful."

Many have given up lifetimes of effort and achievement in Rhodesia, leaving their country with a feeling of betrayal and sorrowful hopelessness."

They have left behind dead friends and relatives, killed in the war. They have left behind homes

and hopes, splintered ideas and vanished ambitions.

"We thought it could work, because there was never any real racial hatred in Rhodesia."

"We wanted to try, because I was born there and my children were born there, but it's no good — it's just not there any more."

### Unwelcome

"My husband was killed in the war. As a widow I was only allowed to take out 500 dollars. My pension is next to nothing. I am alone, and people don't want to know me because I'm a white Rhodesian. They seem to think I'm looking for charity."

"We're being exploited — used as underpaid skilled labour because employers here know we have no freedom of choice when we've come from Rhodesia."

"We're English-speaking non-Afrikaners, and we're treated like dirt by the authorities and by the people."

"My country was taken away from me. Now where do I go? I'm not welcome here."

"We wanted to stay, but the new government is whipping up so much anti-white feeling that it's impossible. Every day there's a swipe at us on radio and the TV; blacks are being taught to hate us and everything we tried to do for them. All the goodwill there was — and there was plenty between the races — is over."

"And so they come — and continue to come — 'down South' because it's still Africa and they still love the continent."

Those born in Britain and those from Europe will tell you that they are aliens in their own lands, strangers to their own people. "Rhodesia was my home."

### Nostalgia

They are unfashionable because they are politically and personally embarrassing, reminders of a war against the world that was lost and is therefore very non-U.

So they leave home, with their green-and-white flags and their bullet pens and their camouflage floppy hats and their nostalgia for people and places now dead.

White Rhodesians have become today's lost tribe of Africa.

A young man with one leg — he lost the other in a landmine blast in a remote tribal trust land — said: "Where the hell do I pitch my tent now? All I want is a chance."

"Don't I deserve one?"

NOTE: The words "Rhodesia" and "Rhodesian" have been used wherever they occur in direct quotes, or to refer to the country as it was before independence. "Zimbabwe" refers to the post-April 18, 1980 period.



CENTRAL AFRICA AIMS TO CURE 'SKE' TOURISTS

Salisbury THE HENARD in English 4 Sep 1961 p 11

[Text]

"THERE are no robots in Botswana. I can walk anywhere," said Botswana's senior tourist officer, Mr. Johan Baijens, indicating one of the lures for foreign visitors to his country.

Mr. Baijens, who is working in a temporary capacity at the moment, is a Dutchman. He stressed the great power that can be used in Central African countries. He made a point of saying that there is no more happiness in the world and that is what people want.

Botswana was "small but beautiful" and its people were "happy". "There has never been a better place in the world," he said, adding to the country's appeal which made it ideal for tourists.

Besides the "beauty" delta was not a swamp, he declared. "You can drive a car from the delta. No you can take a swamp out of your dictionary."

The principal secretary from the Malawian Ministry of Trade, Industry and Tourism, Mr. P. M. Mhisa, was eager to start the Central Africa package deal. The attraction of a clean lake, friendly people and a pleasant physical and political climate could make Malawi an ideal resting place during a tour.

Ownership of national parks will belong to the government, but if you want to start a safari camp or build a hotel we will help you," he said, referring to the shortage of accommodation in Malawi.

A similar desire existed in Zambia, according to Zambian Tourist Officer Mrs. J. Chikwanda. She said the tourist board in Zambia was aiming at the higher income groups.

Visitors were mainly in the stop-over and excursion categories. Luanda needed 1500 more beds to cater for the proposed tourist expansion.

Tanzania could offer safaris not available in countries further south and they had long white beaches. Tanzania's Director of Tourism, Mr. W. Pikiirini, said that a promotion campaign had been started to establish hotels, increase and widen the coverage of internal air services and to correct some unfavourable publicity about Tanzania's ability to cope with the tourist.

# TANZANIA SEEKS TRANSPORT LINK WITH ZIMBABWE

Salisbury THE HERALD-BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Article by Tim Chigodo]

[Text]

A SENIOR Tanzanian civil servant has called for the development of transport links between that country and Zimbabwe.

Mr Bismark Mwanasau is principal secretary in the Tanzanian Ministry of Trade and has been in the country for a week leading a six-man trade delegation.

In an interview, he said the lack of transport was likely to hamper trade between the two countries. "We have to make firm transport arrangements before anything can start moving."

There were no road or rail links between Zimbabwe and Tanzania. "The only link is by air and this is very expensive for trade," he said. At the moment, Tanzania Airways flies once a week from Dar es Salaam to Salisbury.

Road and rail services ended in Lusaka. Mr Mwanasau said, and these were provided by the jointly owned Zambia-Tanzania Road Services and the Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority (TAEARA).

Mr Mwanasau indicated that TAEARA might have to be used through Zambia for carrying goods between Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

The possibility of using the sea route to Beira in Mozambique would also be explored by the two governments.

Arrangements have also to be made for banking facilities to pay for goods. "These will have to be arranged between our two reserve banks."

Tanzania is not a member of the five-nation group now involved in transport and telecommunication development in central and southern Africa. The countries are Malawi, Zaire, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Representatives from the five governments have already held talks and have drawn up a working programme. The first conference was held in Zaire at which Zimbabwe was represented by the Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe.

Tanzania would like to strengthen her economic ties with Zimbabwe for the benefit of the people of the two countries, Mr Mwanasau said. Zimbabwe was well developed and had much to offer to other developing countries in technology.

He had been very impressed by the commercial and the agricultural sectors of the economy. "We would like to get most of our imports from here because Zimbabwe provides us with a cheaper source."

Tanzania was importing items from overseas ranging from coke to handhoes and these could be obtained from Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwean businessmen have been invited to visit Tanzania to tour various industries and agricultural projects.

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REPORT ON TRADE UNIONS IN BLACK AFRICA

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[Article by Yves Person--passages between slantlines originally published in italics]

[Text] African trade unions sometimes still appear to be excessive, at first glance, like in Tunisia in 1978, but in the continent as a whole, which is not yet completely liberated politically, one is struck rather by their inertia and relative silence, whereas at the height of the anti-colonial struggle, at the end of the fifties, they played a major and sometimes preponderant role in African liberation.

The first point to observe is that the trade unions in Africa came into being through a European graft and not through an evolution of African societies. They are part of the massive influx of technologies and practices, or economic and political ideas, which Europe during the colonial era imposed on the subject continent. However this innovation from abroad is going to be grafted on overturned and dominated societies, in historical circumstances quite different from those of the Europe of the 19th Century, to such an extent that the diverse and shifting reality which will come out of it will be considerably different from the initial model. There is still often a tendency to imagine Africa as a passive receptacle of foreign ideas, while in fact its peoples have never ceased proving their initiative and have greatly transformed and assimilated what they were unable to reject.

I am going to describe briefly the stages in the development of trade unions in Africa, and the distinctive characteristics they have developed. I will be speaking mainly of Black Africa, even though the latter may have once shared with Mediterranean Africa a common colonial condition. This explains certain similarities in the development of the trade unions, but those of the Maghreb were marked early on by a very strong tie to the nationalist movements and the Muslim reawakening, to such an extent that the historical significance [of syndicalism in the two regions] is not the same. They [the Mediterranean African trade unions] will, however, furnish several examples, and comparison of the two geo-political regions is by all means necessary.

Trade unions in Africa thus appeared with the development of a wage-earning class, itself the result of the establishment of state colonial systems, urbanization, and industrialization. It is the trade unions, I say, and not socialism, which itself will come from Europe later on, transmitted by the only truly "revolutionary" class which history thus far has produced, namely, the intellectual small bourgeoisie. The appearance of this class in Africa and the role it is going to play in the trade unions explain the frequent but not inevitable affinities uniting the two phenomena, but these two will nonetheless remain distinct.

Wage laborers themselves, throughout the whole world, are reformist, for they only have one life and, rather than awaiting the advent of the absolute they prefer to improve their lot immediately, by limiting the exploitation and oppression of which they are aware. After spontaneous and futile revolts, they organize themselves and form trade unions. This is indeed what happened in Africa as in Europe, with a time-lag of less than a century, but in quite different circumstances. At the mid-point of the 20th Century Africa is in reality a world under domination, and the pattern for its trade unions will quickly be furnished, and already to a considerable degree, with its doctrine, its strategy, and its ideologies, by the dominant society itself. It will have to adapt itself, however, to a very special environment.

I cannot, in so brief a time, give you a complete picture, even a succinct one, of African trade unionism. It has developed everywhere in tandem with the economic and social destruction provoked by colonization, and thus in quite a variety of ways in the different regions.

Almost everywhere, the first wage-earners were peasants driven by want and coming to make a little money in town as migrant workers. Returning home whenever possible and lacking any qualifications, it was hardly possible to unionize them. Moreover the colonial power was against it, although to varying degrees.

We must distinguish from the start those regions peopled by white colonies from those which experienced only classical domination. In the first, economic development was rapid and premature, but the first syndicalism which developed was white syndicalism. The establishment of the "Color Bar" in the framework of a system of racial domination is going, by contrast, to impede or at least retard the formation of black syndicalism. This is the case, notably, in South Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and Zambia. The mining industry experienced a precocious expansion, in the 19th Century, and exceptional economic development will be the consequences.

In the other regions, syndicalism will obviously be black, but it will make its appearance earlier or later according to the rapidity of economic development and social differentiation, on the one hand, and the severity of colonial domination on the other. In Central and East Africa,

it will be quite slow to develop everywhere except in Kenya. Practically nonexistent in Portuguese territory or Ethiopia, it will by contrast spring up quickly in West Africa, especially in Senegal, Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Nigeria.

It goes without saying that the wage-earning class is formed before the trade unions. The first struggles, largely spontaneous, occur outside the unions, like the great strike at Copperbelt in Zambia in 1934, when the mines had only been open for three years. It is then a protest against the sudden increase in the head tax, aimed at mobilizing more labor cheaply. One may say as much for the first great strike of black miners in South Africa, in 1920. In West Africa, without going back to the 19th Century, major strikes, before the existence of any trade union, took place, above all on the railroads (Sierra Leone 1919 and 1926, Nigeria 1925, Thies 1925) and in the mines (Gold Coast 1930).

Almost everywhere, the first workers' organizations are ethnic associations which by their solidarity enable [their members] to survive the accidents and misfortune not covered by any social security. The secondary foremen—the /Boss Boys/ in the Zambian mines—are also called upon to represent the workers in their charge. Tontines and mutual aid associations also appear between the two world wars.

But which are the workers, then, who spontaneously begin to organize? As in Europe, it is neither the most miserable nor the least educated.

At the start, the Africans are torn from the traditional village society by forced labor, then by indirect coercion through taxes, and, in the mining zones of the south, through the stimulus of powerful recruiting networks. The unskilled manpower thus mobilized is subjected, with no protection, to a pitiless exploitation, sometimes in the confines of veritable concentration camps, like the /Compounds/ of South Africa, and the first type of associations is all they will know. Throughout the entire zone of white colonization, extensive efforts will be made to preserve the mobile character of this labor, by preventing it from returning to the family, and by providing constant rotation. The /Color Bar/ will be imposed to keep it from acquiring professional training. In such conditions, a trade-union type organization[is] practically impossible.

The wage-earners who are going to organize themselves will thus be of a different type. It will be those who will have been most harshly subjected to the European culture shock, that is to say, the auxiliaries of the state and the colonial society: low-ranking employees (clerks, teachers, hospital attendants), commercial agents, in short the basic ingredients of an intellectual small bourgeoisie, detached to a degree from the traditional culture. They will then be the first workers to get some professional training, and thereby these "blue-collars" are rather close to the "white-collars" who are above them. Beyond this training factor, the relationship of these men to geography will play a



decisive role. Thus the geographic concentration of the mining industries on the one hand, and the means of transport on the other, will work to permit more establishment of contacts, and open minds to movements in the outside world. Aside from the functionaries and miners, the first organized workers will be the seamen, dock-workers, and railway workers. Their role will be decisive throughout Black Africa.

It remains to be said that the organizing of these workers, few in number and dispersed, subjected to the arbitrary actions of colonial domination, or to oppression, or, even worse, to the racist systems of the south, could not but be difficult. Its beginnings will come slowly. They will be conditioned, at the start, by a factor which is going to play a major role in African trade-unionism: political changes in the colonial countries.

Here we are touching on a crucial point. The African trade-unions are from the start going to be highly politicized, although this feature is less fully developed in Black Africa than in the Maghreb. This is all the more remarkable in that these trade unions are going to be organized at the initiative and after the pattern of the labor groups from the colonial homelands which profess, at least in theory, the ideal of an apolitical syndicalism devoting itself to improving wages and working conditions, and leaving to political parties [matters of] social reform or revolution.

Frankly, everyone knows quite well that this apoliticism, theoretical even in Europe, is only a fiction. The Leninist theory of the trade union as the "driving belt" of the party is represented, even though unavowed, by the CGT [General Confederation of Labor] in France, and has efficiently provided for the total subjection of the working class in the countries wearing the socialist label. But, finally, everyone knows that the /Labor Party/ is the product of the /Trade Unions/ which constitute its power, and that the German and Scandinavian social-democrat parties would not exist without the powerful syndicates that support them. Even in France, the anarchist-syndicalist tradition which triumphed in 1905 with the Amiens Charter expressed above all the decision to substitute a decisive social struggle, thus one ultimately political [in nature], for a dishonest, futile, and ineffective game of parties. And it has been well forgotten since then. The case of American labor unions is itself atypical: it is known that the Democratic Party owes most of its victories to them. In France, only F.O. [Workers Force] really affects to be apolitical, and reproaches the CFTD [French Democratic Confederation of Labor], not to speak of the CGT, for going astray. However, the socialist influence remains preponderant there, and that of the Trotskyites tangible. Besides, the history of decolonization reveals strange attitudes among all these organizations.

One will not, however, be surprised to discover that the labor missionaries who are going to preach the good word in Africa starting in 1945-



1947 will almost always preach a non-political doctrine that they rarely practice at home, and they will easily wax indignant when seeing their black disciples go astray.

In fact, only the political constraint of the colonial regime could retard the birth of African syndicalism once a wage-earning class of the modern type emerged, a class of which it was the natural complement. The Portuguese dictatorship came to an end on just this. The ideal of colonization, like all despotism, is to be able to deal only with isolated and passive individuals, deprived of the ties of culture and conviviality which could give them the collective basis for resistance. From which [arises] the determination, quite pronounced among the more important of them, such as the French, to destroy the African languages and cultures.

From which [arises] a natural rejection before a phenomenon of mobilization such as trade-unionism. The colonial power will not give up its opposition, until such a time as the evolution of the working class will make it truly impossible.

It will then concede [the legitimacy of] the trade unions, but will also implement numerous precautions to prevent them from combining with any political opposition movement, out of fear that the latter should gain too much power.

Great Britain, though relatively open and progressive, did not entirely escape this narrow-minded machievellianism. The British, however, in 1930 admitted, in a celebrated circular credited to the Labor colonial minister, the famous Sidney Webb (later Lord Passfield), founder of the /Fabian Society/, the principle of the right to organize, as that of the preponderance [sic] of African interests in East and Central Africa. Though several trade unions appeared at that time in Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, and Nigeria, no federation was established, and the phenomenon remained limited despite major social movements. It is a remarkable fact that in was when war came that in 1940, Great Britain wrote into the /Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CDWA)/ passed in anticipation of a large campaign of investment in its African colonies, a clause subjecting these activities to the existence of a social settlement including freedom to organize. The same year Michael Imoudu creates the Nigerian railway workers union. Starting in 1942, it will be the first labor group for uniting dispersed efforts.

Though some might dispute the statement, it is clear that Great Britain placed the freedom to organize in the proper context of the ideal of progress which, it claimed, its mission was to impose on Africa. Obviously this could not be applied to the colonies with large white settlements, or in South Africa, already a /dominion/, that is, in fact an independent state.

The French case is more clear. Before 1936, colonial constraint in French Africa is complete, and economic development remains very limited, except in Senegal. Nevertheless there are professional associations of African functionaries or workers (teachers, railway workers) who are already preparing the groundwork. But with the advent of the Popular Front, Senegal experiences an extraordinary ferment, and the trade unions are legitimized by a decree of February 1937. Not of course without tight restrictions: only workers literate in French can organize, and the administration must strictly control their management. From then on the trade unions keep increasing in number, riding a powerful wave of successful strikes which greatly improve workers' conditions and, most importantly, lead to a remarkable awakening of conscience. But in 1938 there is a relapse. The strike of railway workers in Thies in September ends tragically, and is exploited by the right, thanks to Galandou Diouf, to take things in hand. With the war, then the advent of the Vichy regime, all the gains made will be suppressed in 1940, and will only be regained little by little, from 1943 to 1945. To a lesser degree, similar movements can be observed in Madagascar, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey.

At the end of World War II, French Africa, with the exception of Senegal, thus appears quite backward by comparison to British Africa. Henceforth, in labor matters, it is going to pursue a rather different path.

The decisive period in fact is the one extending from 1944 or 1945 to 1957-58. This is the time when French Africa is committed both to the path of economic development, through FIDES [Investment Fund for Economic and Social Development], which is going to overturn the social structure, and on the path of a renewed colonization which is conceived as perpetual. Unexpectedly, these reforms are going to begin the process of decolonization, because of the global context, pressures from the United States and the USSR at the UN, and above all [because of] the British model. For this latter begins to move quite rapidly, without much hesitation, toward faster and faster political decolonization in West Africa, while the colonists in East and Central Africa attempt to turn the process to their profit. From the start, all the trade unions will remain beset by weakness in numbers, even relative to the number of wage-earning workers, by great instability in membership, and by constant financial problems due to the difficulty of collecting membership dues.

The composition of the trade unions varies a great deal from country to country. Manual laborers, railway workers or dock workers, played a major role in countries like Senegal, Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, or even Sudan and Zambia. But in the countries with little development, like French Sudan (Mali), Upper Volta, or even Congo-Brazzaville, the unionists will mostly be functionaries or employees in businesses.

As it became impossible to resist the formation of trade unions, at least without dictatorial power, the colonial authorities found themselves facing a dilemma. They could either insist that the trade unions remain absolutely non-political, in hopes of thereby impeding the strengthening of the nationalist opposition, or on the contrary denounce any major strike as political in order to better fight it. Though dangerous, this latter position was more frequently taken because the colonial state was almost everywhere the biggest employer, and it was often the state against which the strikers were fighting.

In reality, the conditions of the workers were too obviously tied to the colonial order for politicization not to make itself felt, though not as quickly at the start in Black Africa as in North Africa. And above all, unevenly, according to the country and the confederations. Thus F.O. is going to bear right to the end a suicidal attachment to the colonial order, all the while disguising this position under the pretext of no politics.

This said, the traditions of the colonial motherlands being quite different, the modalities were very different in English and French Africa.

Among the British, where the movement in Nigeria is already well under way in 1942, /Labor Services/ were set up in all the territories, and the British TUC [Trade Unions Council] starting in 1945 sends experienced organizers to assist the Africans to organize. But here, in the British tradition, there is no centralization, or rather, there is no affiliation with the British confederation. The workers are urged to establish small shop units, and staying out of politics is emphasized. Then one portion, often a rather small one, of these labor groups, joins together to form in each country a TUC which affiliates itself directly to an international [labor organization]. Given that apoliticism rules out theoretical and ideological debates, there can logically be only one TUC per country, and the international with which it affiliates is naturally the FSM (WETU) [World Federation of Trade Unions] based in Prague up to 1948 or 1949, then the CISL (ICFTU) [International Confederation of Free Trade Unions] based in Brussels afterward. It is only in Nigeria that an early politicization in a very divided country will bring the break-up of the national TUC ostensibly over the issue of international affiliation.

In certain countries, such as Kenya, the organization of trade unions into a TUC, begun in 1947, will be delayed by the government for political reasons. In the racist-dominated countries such as South Africa and Rhodesia, the black unions and their federations will not be recognized, and [racially] mixed unions will be prohibited, after 1925.

Within the anglophone domain the basic fact remains that there did not exist any organic link between the colonial TUC's and those of the metropolitan capital: autonomy was built in at the start. Moreover, labor

unity within countries was the norm from the start. Finally, in several countries, notably Nigeria, Sudan, and Zambia, the organized cadres were manual laborers, highly skilled, and not functionaries and minor intellectuals as in the Francophone countries. As a result they are going to be excluded from the apparatus of the state at independence, which will predispose them to autonomy, when they are not brutalized into submission.

In the francophone domain, what is striking, on the contrary, is the bureaucratic centralization by which the colonial confederations are from the start subjected to those in the capital, and the [degree to which] ideological rivalry is an impediment to labor unity. Insoluble problems, and a constant struggle over international affiliation, will result from this.

The labor missionaries who arrive in 1945 quickly establish a strict hierarchy among the labor groups set up, /on the one hand,/ as local, territorial, or federal unions (AOF, AEF) [French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa] affiliated with metropolitan confederations, and only through them [linked] to an international, and /on the other hand/ as professional federations themselves subject to the territorial or at least the federal union, like the AOF railway workers. Starting in 1945 therefore two networks of unions appear, that of the CGT and that of the CFTC [expansion unknown] (in Muslim countries the letter C no longer signifies Christian but Believer [Fr. "Croyant"]). The latter will be of importance in Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, and especially in Cameroon, AEF, and Madagascar. In 1947, when it holds the African convention in Dakar, the CGT sets up two coordination committees, one for AOF-Togo, the other for AEF-Cameroon. But at the end of the year, the withdrawal of the socialists puts an end to a labor unity at their expense, which the cold war made ridiculous.

Thus appears CFT-F.O. in the capital. In 1949, the latter makes a big effort to establish itself, but its efforts are rarely successful: it hardly succeeds except among certain functionaries and, above all in Senegal, among the famous "natives." In 1955, on the eve of great and fearful events, the CGT had 50 percent of the organized francophone laborers, CFTC had 18 percent and F.O. 10 percent. The other unions, notably the powerful federation of railway workers of AOF, remained autonomous.

This federation had at first been with CGT. But it believed it was not supported by the metropolitan confederation at the time of the great strike from November 1947 to March 1948 described in Sembene Ousmane's novel, "les Bouts de Bois de Dieu." While its militants were inspired by African psychological, political, and wage concerns, it allowed itself to be pulled by the CGT into the great political strike at the end of 1947 called by the Communist Party. But its own strike had lasted interminably, all the way to March 1948, and ended in a semi-defeat, made up for, really, by a quite strong raising of the level of awareness. The



railway workers however felt themselves exploited, manipulated, and abandoned by the French CGT, which explains their decision to disaffiliate, taken at the end of the strike. Their federation would remain in this position up to the formation of UGTAN [General Union of Workers of Black Africa].

I cannot go into specifics for the social struggles, often very lively, that occur starting in 1947 and will in fact go on all the way to independence. Up to the end of 1952, struggle centers on the campaign for the Overseas Labor Code, which was in fact secured by decree in November 1947, when minister Coste Floret, thanks to a virtual falsification of public documents, succeeds in jeopardizing everything. The great waves of strikes in 1947, then in 1952, and 1953, were of crucial importance. The "70-Day Strike" from September to November 1953 in Guinea brought Sekou Toure into the limelight and gave momentum to the PDC-RDA [Democratic Party of Guinea-African Democratic Rally], which was quite weak up till then. In this typical case, it is the labor group which has practically created the party. This example shows how politicization occurs. The social struggle gets substantial results during this time. In AOP, on average, wages increase by 87 percent from 1949 to 1952. Through application of the Overseas Labor Code, the work week is decreased from 50 to 40 hours in December 1952. Union membership, small up to then, expands at a remarkable pace. In Guinea, the CGT goes from 4,000 members in 1953 to 55,000 in 1955.

The alliance of CGT-RDA in 1946 brought strength to a nationalism which was still embryonic. The colonial authorities, who were not deceived, showed their hostility right away to this faction. In the Ivory Coast, the CGT bears the direct fire of the attack led against the PDCI-RDA [Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast] which is going to culminate in 1948 to 1950. The administration sometimes thought it useful to support workers with religious affiliation, in hopes of pitting them against the radical nationalists. This was notably the case in Cameroon, Brazzaville, and Madagascar. But this failed for, everywhere, these labor groups, once constituted, showed the greatest vigor and joined up with nationalism. The role of Gilbert Pongault in the French Congo is well known, if not well studied.

The colonial state is thus the absolute enemy, and demands do not have to be reasonable: there is a balance of power, and it is a question of getting the maximum possible. The union, however, can feign being non-political, which is purest fiction, in order to avoid bearing the weight of repression which comes down on the nationalists. The case is clear in the Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Cameroon, and, in the anglophone area, in Kenya and Ghana. The situation becomes more complicated where there exist several African parties, as in Senegal, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Zambia. Generally there results from this a new division of the labor movement which facilitates the interest of the colonial power.

In this period, up to 1957-1958, an essential role is played by the international labor groups. Since 1947 decolonization is being played out in the context of the cold war, to the great frustration of the colonial powers, who see these two protagonists, the United States and the USSR, trying to outdo each other in anticolonialism to expand their (number of) clients.

Up to 1948, the FSN/WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions) contains the great majority of organized workers around the world, outside of the American AFC (expansion unknown) and the Christians. It is a strange alliance, between the bureaucratic state apparatuses of the socialist countries, the French CGT which still held socialists and communists, under the obvious control of the latter, the Scandinavian labor unions, the British trade unions, and the American CIO. Leadership is divided at the time between a British president, Arthur Deakin, and a French secretary general, the communist Louis Saillant.

Up to 1947 these strange allies share a common determination to keep control of the new African unions by separating them from the nationalists not under their control. We know how Saillant engineered the rejection of the membership of the UGTT (Tunisian General Federation of Labor), too closely tied to the Neo-Destour, and (how he) did not hesitate to describe as a demographic provocation the general strike of 1947. Benoit Frachon will be his constant assistant in this task: he will not hesitate to accuse the UGTT publicly of being the "instrument of imperialism," and to give primacy to USTT (Federation of Labor Unions of Tunisia), a small insignificant group which, however, is dominated by European communists. We also know how the development of specific unions will be retarded in Algeria. The clear idea before 1947, and which the PCF (French Communist Party) will not really abandon before 1958, is that the national liberation of the colonial peoples can only come after the socialist revolution brought about by French workers, and under their control. To reverse the order is to be suspected of excessive nationalism. Meanwhile, one must thus be content with social struggles. Time does not matter for the Church: go into the kingdom of heaven and all the rest will be added unto you. The break with the FIDA had its origins in such a doctrine.

Starting in 1949, FSN-WFTU is no more than a rump where, except for the eastern countries, one can find only unions tightly controlled by communists. This is the case with the CGT, and it is through the latter's intermediation that FSN watches over its African subsidiaries. The president of the unions of French Sudan (Mali), Abdoulaye Diallo of Guinea, quite close to the communists, has been vice-president of the FSN since 1949. Now the withdrawal of the RDA, in 1950, upset the French communists and this explains the suicidal obstinacy with which they will oppose direct African membership in FSN. The French CGT fears losing control of their development if it does not impose itself as an intermediary. Diallo will maintain this to the end, which will quickly bring him into conflict with Sekou Toure, whose intervention is going to open



up a new era: that of labor Pan-Africanism, which will completely destroy the influence of the Prague International in Black Africa.

Starting in 1949, from its headquarters in Brussels, the CISL-ICFTU is working to bring together the non-communist unionists to confront the Soviet menace. It thus tries to unite the greatest possible number of Africans. In fact, all of the anglophone TUC's, other than the Imoudu faction in Nigeria, but including the Ghana-TUC closely tied to the revolutionary nationalists of Nkrumah, join up at Brussels. In the francophone world, by contrast, success is meager: it is limited to small P.O. cells already discredited by their pro-French attitude.

Within the "free" international, a strange battle will be joined. Without being a tool of the Americans, the CISL-ICFTU submits more and more to the influence of the CIO--reunited in 1953 with the AFL. The latter, obviously, acts, not at the orders, but in concert, with the Department of State and the CIA. It is a question of protecting the union movement from communism and Africa from Soviet influence. For this, the American unionists think there is no better way than to encourage the anti-colonial struggle, and to put in place moderate African states. This assistance to the black nationalist movements is greeted with consternation by the TUC's, which assert that Great Britain must remain in control of a movement toward independence, which, moreover, it accepts, and above all [greeted with consternation] by the CGT-P.O., which will hold on fiercely to the idea of a permanent imperial France. However, the Americans bringing the money, their policy will consistently prevail, despite violent French recriminations at each Congress.

In 1953, the ICFTU establishes a regional office in Accra, where it consolidates its foundations with Pan-African nationalism. It is in Accra that in 1957 it holds its first regional conference under the chairmanship of Tettegah, and Nkrumah there makes a memorable speech. The unions affiliated with Brussels give shelter to the nationalists persecuted by the colonial power, for example in Kenya, in Tunisia, and in Zambia. Affiliated with Prague they would not have been able to play this role.

For the first time, around 1959-1960, this policy will look like it is paying off, and there will be a general feeling that CISL-ICFTU is largely achieving acceptance by Africa, including revolutionary Ghana, while the Stalinist dream of hierarchical control, to which the FSM clings, will lead to nearly total ruin.

RDA's break with the PC [Communist Party] heralds, in fact, with a five-year lead-time, that of the African CGT's with the metropolitan and international confederation. Sekou Toure is going to be the instrument of this rupture. Considered by the colonial authorities as a dangerous communist, this man of limited theoretical training is soon going to demonstrate that he is above all a radical African nationalist. And that he admirably embodies the tendency of African unions to personalize power to an extreme,

which is useful to charismatic leaders. Among the latter one can point to John Tettegah in Ghana, Michael Imoudu in Nigeria, Tom Mboya in Kenya, Lawrence Katilungu in Zambia, and Joseph Nkomo in Zimbabwe. One could also mention Ferhad Hached in Tunisia and Mahjoub ben Seddik in Morocco.

Born in 1922 at Faranah in a strong Muslim environment, dismissed from the Conakry technical college in 1937 following a hunger strike, Sekou Toure works as an employee in a business while pursuing his studies by correspondence, and he passes the clerks' competition of the postal, telephone and telegraph service. He is the ideal picture of the petty bourgeois intellectual. In 1945, as secretary general of the PTT union, he is involved in the formation of the Territorial UNION CGT, then, at the end of 1946 in the formation of the RDA. Having become a treasury agent, he is dismissed for political activities. His biography is rather murky from 1946 to 1948. He travelled to Paris several times and visited Prague, but it is doubtful he pursued any course of study for any length of time at the PSM school in the Czech capital. Only he could tell us, and he is still extremely discreet about this period of his life. In 1948, he becomes secretary general of the CGT of Guinea, then in 1950 of the Coordination Committee CGT of AOF, and finally in 1952 of the PDG [Democratic Party of Guinea], at this time still minuscule. The 70-day strike, from September to November 1953, brings extraordinary prestige to the leader, the union, and the party. By 1956, Sekou Toure will have made the PDG, often forcibly, the dominant party throughout Guinea. As we know, after an almost complete electoral triumph, he will become vice-president of the government of the loi-cadre (translation unknown) in April 1957, and he has never been out of power since.

Under the influence of Nkrumah, but also by virtue of the innate logic of nationalism, Sekou Toure chafes under the domination of the French CGT which supports his rival, Diallo Abdoulaye, whom the CGT believes to be more malleable. In February 1956, the Coordination Committee CGT, meeting in Dakar, decides to break its affiliation with the French confederation by establishing the CGTA [General Confederation of African Workers]. Sekou Toure is joined by some of the Senegalese with Diallo Seydou, but Abdoulaye Diallo, with Camille Gris of the Ivory Coast and some of the Senegalese with Alioune Cisse oppose him. However, in all quarters to some degree, unions side with him, even if need be against their own confederate leadership, to such an extent that in November 1957 at Cotonou, the CGTA gives way to UGTAN [General Union of Workers of Black Africa]. This latter unites the majority of unions in French West Africa, including the railway workers, but excluding the Christians and F.O. These latter then also establish autonomous African federations, without disaffiliating themselves from their corresponding international. UGTAN, by contrast, declares its break tone, Sekou Toure asserts that African unions should only join African internationals. A month later, in 1957, the constituting convention of the All-African Peoples Organization [OPAP-AAPO] at Accra adopts the same position. In 1959, the Ghana TUC, for its part, will withdraw from CISL-ICFTU.

UGTAN of course responded to the nationalist and Pan-Africanist radicalism which engulfed the continent during these years of rapid political decolonization. There was a failure, however, resulting from the evident hegemony of the Guinean section, identified with one man. Now after 1957 this man is but one chief of state among others, yet redoubtable because of the prestige he acquired, by his "No" in the referendum of September 1958. The other states are then going to demand that their unions break with this "foreign" international, about the same time that the RDA breaks up. This will be done in the Ivory Coast after the strike of functionaries in September 1959, and in Senegal after the partial and ephemeral Union of the confederations in 1962. This same year, Camille Gris, now becomes a minister in Abidjan, will be convicted in the flurry of conspiracies fabricated at this time to claim the effervescence of the country. In Conakry, Sekou Toure will draw the conclusions by nationalizing what remained of UGTAN.

By 1960, almost all of West Africa has thus achieved international sovereignty, and almost all of East and Central Africa will follow before 1964. All the new states, with their employers' and workers' organizations, then obtain the supreme consecration of their sovereignty: they are admitted to the International Labor Organization in Geneva.

We then enter into a new period in the life of the African unions. Henceforth they have to organize themselves and define their role in the framework of politically independent states, except in the far south still dominated by the racist system.

Then, with a speed varying from country to country, we see the same tendencies triumph little by little throughout Black Africa.

Everywhere the unions are asked to organize strictly within the framework of each state. With these limits, one tends rather quickly to achieve labor unity, as international affiliations are forbidden or tightly controlled. Finally, the activity of the unions is more or less strictly limited, according to the nature of the political regime of the given country. Never was the politicization of the life of the unions as evident, even if ideology denies it, but the revolutionary freedom they turned against the enemy colonial state is henceforth denied them by the national state. They dare not, any more, overtly oppose the state, even when it is controlled by social forces contrary to those they represent.

Several situations can be distinguished, but it is a remarkable fact that they cannot be defined by the diverse characteristics of the unions, but rather by those of the parties.

1. In countries where political diversity subsists, even if there is a dominant party, there is also labor diversity, even if the governments try to impose a more or less artificial unity. This is the case, for example, in huge Nigeria, where the rivalry between the "socializing"

unions of Imoudu and his "reformist" competitors, those linked to various large regional parties, lasted up to the beginning of the Civil War in 1967. After that, which ended in 1970, labor activity has not had much momentum. In 1978, precisely because of government pressure, labor unity is still not achieved; a fifth confederation has even just been established.

It happens the same way in Senegal where, however, after the serious Crisis of May 1968, the government believed it succeeded, in 1969, in imposing unity under the chairmanship of Doudou Ngom (CNTS [National Confederation of Workers of Senegal]). The latter proved to be illusory, and the present political pluralism impedes a resumption of the effort. (CNTS + UTLS [Union of Free Workers of Senegal] + SUDES [Sole Democratic Trade Union of Senegalese Teachers]). President Senghor, moreover, has openly disavowed it.

In cases of this type, it is obvious that some labor freedom subsists. If a confederation is supported by the government and the dominant party, this often serves only to reinforce the prestige of its rivals among the workers. Because of this, whatever legal restrictions there may be, it is impossible to avoid all labor conflicts, and wage-earners thus retain a real power of pressure and negotiation.

2. In countries with only one party, we must distinguish between elitist and mass parties.

(a) The first in general profess a liberal type of economic ideology, and are dominated by social groups (planters, small industrials, middle-class) hostile or stand-offish with regard to the unions. The latter are then tightly regulated and subjected to the state, on which they will have only small influence or none at all. Labor unity is strictly imposed, obligatory membership with payroll [dues] deductions /(check off)/ is frequent, and no social agitation is tolerated. So the unions lose all prestige with the worker's, who are forbidden to organize outside them. Thus no outlet is possible for social tensions, and violent and uncontrollable explosions are possible.

We can put into this category Ivory Coast from 1959 on, Kenya since 1965, and Zaire since 1967.

(b) Relations between unions and mass parties are much more diverse.

In certain cases, the party is in some sense an offspring of the unions, but the latter are, to turn the tables, entirely controlled by it. This is the case for example in Guinea, at least since the teachers' strike in November 1961 was broken. In this country, the party being extremely totalitarian and stratified, no form of freedom exists for the workers. This was also, in a lesser degree, the case with Ghana under Nkrumah. But this time, the party not being truly totalitarian, the unions were not able to forestall the spontaneous social movements which contributed to the fall of the regime.



Subsequently, the unions largely regained their freedom with respect to the civilian and military regimes which succeeded it. They succeeded in reconstituting a unitary confederation, the Ghana-TUC, in 1971, after the fall of Busia who had dissolved it, but this [organization], in line with British tradition, is not a loose federation. It is evidently not linked to the government.

In other cases, the unions, while still being closely tied to the party, have kept their autonomy and have even succeeded, for some years, in dominating it and imposing their will on it, often in an irresponsible way, thanks to support from a chief of state desirous of setting two groups of his partisans against each other. The most remarkable example of this situation was that of Mali under the last years of Modibo Keita, especially from 1964 to 1968. One can think also of the Sierra Leone of Siaka Stevens since 1969, although there the ties between union and government are much less close.

(c) Finally, when the one party maintains a healthy dose of internal democracy, the unions retain great freedom of action if they agree to confine themselves within certain limits. They can then substantially influence the government. This is the case for example of Tanzania and Zambia. The latter's situation is all the more remarkable because a serious conflict was ended in 1965 by defeat of the miners' union, which holds a lock on the economy, and by its subordination to the party. Kaunda's profoundly democratic tendencies have prevented him from abusing his victory. The sole confederation (ZCTU) [Zambian Congress of Trade Unions], though largely autonomous, does not seem, moreover, to be satisfied with its relations with the government.

Whatever equilibrium is established, unions in independent Africa find themselves confront by demands which are everywhere the same.

They are asked, first, to prove their national loyalty, that is, to confine themselves to the borders of the state and not to search for common slogans or even ideologies abroad. This means that the international policy of the state in question has long since settled the problem of international affiliations. The great era of world or even Pan-African unionism, which dominated the period from 1945 to 1960, has thus been ended by a shipwreck on the reefs of government micro-nationalism.

I am going to say a few words about this, in order not to have to return to it.

In 1959-1960, after the collapse of UGTAN, most of the francophone unions had no more international affiliation. Except in Cameroon, the FSM-WFTU no longer had any position in Africa. Its total and definitive failure contrasted with the apparent triumph of CISL-ICFTU, despite the unsettling withdrawal of Ghana at the end of 1959. It is in November 1960, at its regional conference in Tunis, that the CISL created a regional bureau,



AFRO [African Regional Organization], while it had already established at Kampala a large labor college in 1957. Its principal support in Black Africa came from the unions in Kenya, then led by the renowned Tom Mboya.

But this triumph was only apparent. All its African affiliates were in fact turned toward nationalism and Pan-Africanism. Those of East and Central Africa, struggling in countries not yet independent, wanted substantial aid as their states achieved independence. American influence and the specter of the CIA made this affiliation worrisome as soon as they were no longer needed in the anticolonial struggle. Thus, from 1963 to 1965, CISL/ICFTU successively lost Algeria, Morocco, Tanganyika, and finally, in a terrible blow, Kenya and Zambia. Tom Mboya was then a minister of his successors at the head of the KLF [Kenya Labor Federation] opposed him. Brussels now held only Tunisia, part of Cameroon and Uganda (the latter only up to 1969). The collapse was almost as complete as that of the FSM 10 years ago. George Meany drew the inferences, vehemently condemning the bureaucratism of the international, at the meeting of its executive board in March 1965, and announcing that the Americans would pay nothing more.

Thus the political liberation of Africa was consecrated by pushing its unionism to the sidelines of the worldwide movement, and by its break-up into two factions.

This labor divisiveness, however, appeared to be in contradiction to the ideal of African unity, which the chiefs of state [publicly] embraced, the better to disguise their strangling of it in practice. Nevertheless, however, contrary were their economic policies, they all desired tight control over the sole unions, without having to account to internationals burdened with democratic prejudices. The ideal was obviously a unitary African international, but one wherein "progressives" and "moderates" would be balanced and would join together to bring to heel unions which agitated too much. In this perspective, the struggle of ATUC-CAS for freedom of affiliation lost its significance.

It was not, however, until 1972 that a preparatory committee was established at Addis Ababa with the aim of merging the two organizations. ATUC's negligence led to the almost unanimous adoption of by-laws inspired by the AATUF-FSPA. The principle of disaffiliation was left to be decided later, but the tide was going in that direction. It is finally in April 1973, at the urging of the OAU, that a unitary international, OATUU-OUA (Organization of African Trade Union Unity), was finally established. Its headquarters were set in Addis Ababa, and its chose as president Lansina Sylla of Guinea, and as secretary general Dennis Akumu of Kenya. The first was replaced by Nefishi of Libya, at the second congress, in Tripoli in April 1976. The next congress will take place in 1980.

The significance of the new organization appeared clear when it gave unreserved support to the Tunisian government in the grave labor crisis of January 1980.

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In fact, the OATUU-OUSA is basing its action on two important principles. The first, disaffiliation from any non-African international, is not yet mandatory, only strongly recommended, but it is not the most. More disturbing is the determination to achieve only one confederation for each state, which wrecks the hopes of the men in power, and gravely threatens trade union democracy. Now here is the main point, on which Dennis Akumu ceaselessly harps, making matters worse, one might add, in places such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Lesotho.

Beyond this general tendency toward breaking with other internationals and retiring behind the borders of each state, African unionism in the independent states found itself confronted by a general revision of the rules of the social game. Although conditions may vary to extremes, the tendencies have been everywhere the same.

Everywhere, unions have been sternly reminded that they represented minority groups that were relatively privileged, and that it would be scandalous for them to attempt to extend these privileges even further, while the great mass of workers, and peasants, remained condemned to the state of the wretched of the earth and even saw their situation worsening.

This manner of talk was hard to swallow, and it was not always accepted, for it often came from political circles whose commitment to austerity and honesty were to say the least questionable. The refusal of the unions has brought periods of great instability in certain countries, such as Dahomey from 1959 to 1972, and Zambia from 1963 to 1965. These crisis are finally brought to an end by the victory of the political powers, and the bringing to heel of the unions.

Whatever ideology the African states acknowledge, they all reiterate to the unions that their demands must be limited so as not to harm economic growth and, especially in countries with liberal ideology, not to bring about the flight of that foreign investment on which so much hope is resting. It must not be forgotten that, in most of the countries, the state remains the biggest employer. It is thus both judge and party [to the suit]: the main strikes may be directed against it.

Increasingly tight restrictions limit the right to strike and finally subordinate it to advance authorization from the political authorities. Not only must one not impede production, or frighten investment, but above all one must avoid disorders which would risk provoking uncontrollable reactions in the common people, which the leaders feel more and more to be foreign and threatening: barbarism, the enemy within. Now it is not something with which one can negotiate, with its passions and its apparent irrationality, if one is locked into a purely productivist perspective and

in the ideology of a unilinear evolution of human society. If the aim is to show that Africans can do as well as Europeans, and catch up to the latter by following the same road, these people must be uprooted and crushed, in order to achieve the basic accumulation of capital pooled in Great Britain or France in the 18th and 19th Centuries, and in the USSR in the 20th Century. Quite a number of African states would endorse this program without too much pain, those which re-established under the name of human development what had been suppressed in 1946 when called forced labor.

But then it is clear that it is not a question of trade union freedom or democracy, much less of self-management or autonomy of worker communities. It is a question of setting in place the apparatus of oppression, sometimes worse than that of the colonial era, by having to rely, like [that era], on external force to subdue the desperate reactions of the people from the Americans in order to liberate themselves and wanted to avoid any sterile compromise with the Soviet bloc. Their affiliation was thus born more of opportunism than of conviction. In fact, AFRO did not get on its feet really, and was suspended in 1965 by the international for its poor management. Re-established in 1972, much weakened in numbers, it only concerned itself with organizing the struggle against the disaffiliation policy, which henceforth the OAU was largely supporting, while promoting the new international, OUSA (OATUU) [Organization of African Trade Union Unity].

This latter is the ambiguous product of another battle.

When a divided Africa was preparing to move, not without pain, toward a compromise, by creating the OAU, in 1963 at Addis Ababa, the labor movement was not immune from this tendency. The radical nationalists were at that time aligned with Ghana, Guinea, and Mali, as well as with Morocco where the quite markedly leftist unions still remained on good terms with the royal government, which had not forgotten their decisive role in the struggle for independence. To counter CISL/ICFTU, they had convoked at Lagos in November 1959 a preparatory conference on African labor unity. There resulted the formation, in May 1961, at Casablanca, of the FSPA-AATUF (All African Trade Union Federation). But only the African unions described as "progressive" (Casablanca group) were there.\* The Religious Workers had refused to join up, and the friends of Tom Mboya had broken at the last moment, because of the prohibition against double affiliation, which would have obliged them to break with CISL-ICFTU, whose political and financial support remained vital.

These dissidents found themselves in January 1962 in Dakar, where they established a rival international, the CSA-ATUC (African Trade Union

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\* Morocco, Algeria, part of Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, Libya Mali, part of Nigeria, and Upper Volta.

Confederation).\*\* This latter permitted double affiliation, allowing many of its members to remain faithful to the Brussels international.

The two organizations, however, were vastly different.

The FSPA-AATUF having chosen Ben Seddik as president and Tettegah as secretary general, it installed its headquarters in Accra, and enjoyed considerable financial aid from Nkrumah. He did not hide his intention of subordinating his organization to Ghana's Pan-African policy, and he launched himself, with a burst of activity, into the attack against the rival organization. The fall of Nkrumah in January 1966 was at the time a veritable catastrophe. The new secretary general, Famady Sissoko of Mali, had to move the headquarters to Tanzania, where it fell into a certain inactivity. Now the ATUC-CSA, with Tlili the Tunisian as president and Guinean exile David Soumah as secretary general, could not expect such support from "moderate" states, who often distrusted all labor activity. It therefore fell largely into torpor and but poorly resisted the calls for unity that the OAU soon made.

The formation of the Dakar international had been a triumph for the CISL-ICFTU, but this success was only apparent. Now provided with their own organization, the "moderate" African unions felt themselves much less attracted by Brussels.

The unions are thus little by little deprived of all freedom of action. In many cases, wherever their cadres were not manual laborers, they have been seriously weakened by the departure of their best leaders to the other side, as ministers or high officials. Besides, it is no longer possible for a charismatic figure like the great labor leaders of the fifties, the Sekou Toures, John Tettegahs, Tom Mboyas, and Lawrence Katilungus, to be allowed to rise up in the face of a President with more or less monarchical pretensions.

This is where we are now. This situation is neither bright nor encouraging. If we wish to peer a bit into the future, we must start from the evidence that the evolution of African trade unionism cannot take place outside that of the overall societies, and is particularly dependent on the future of democracy.

The latter now seems thoroughly compromised. It is sacrificed on the altar of development and national construction. Now that is a pregnant term. Development and national construction can only be real if founded on the organic nature of the African peoples, that is, on liberating the

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\*\* Tunisia, Senegal, part of Nigeria and Cameroon, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Zambia, Congo (Leo), Congo (Brazza). In all 23 unions affiliated to CISL, 12 with the Christian International, 16 unaffiliated.



initiative of the local communities, emerging into forms of self-administration, which constitute the most radical ideal of democracy, and of a socialism which is more than just a word to mask centralized bureaucratic tyranny. In other words the rule of the intellectual petty bourgeois, even if its members describe themselves as "organic intellectuals."

From this standpoint, for example, the single party could never be an ideal to pursue as the Malagasies are presently proclaiming in their misguided state, but only a temporary expedient, to get through a difficult period. This seems obvious to me, for example, in the case of a country seriously threatened like Burundi. Even in this case, it cannot be excused unless it allows the greatest internal democracy and respect for the most divergent factions. What Julius Nyerere tried to do in Tanzania but, it seems, without too much success.

I would say as much for the unions. The mandatory single union is an evil: it can only be an expedient and not an ideal. It assumes in any case that the greatest internal democracy obtains. The workers should be free to join, to designate their representatives before different bodies, and to express their demands. These being sectoral, clearly the political authority will have to arbitrate; but its intervention should only occur at that stage.

It is thus of significance that the new international, OATUU-OUSA, so closely tied to the OAU, should be given the mission to press everywhere for the single confederation, to the point of excluding from its bodies countries which have not achieved it. By all means, a single confederation linked to a single party should at the very least be autonomous, and influential enough to direct the policy of this party toward the aspirations of its members. If not, the latter will not accord it any respect, and will drop out of it if they are not required to be formal members, and will build up an anger ready to explode. In such a case, the union becomes totally useless. It would be better to suppress it than to let it indulge in the hypocritical ritual of congresses, conferences and motions.

Wage-earners are growing in number quite rapidly now in Africa, but not to the point that the social groups represented but unions should soon cease to be minorities. Further, the aim of socialism is precisely the abolition of the wage-earning class, thus of exploitation. If this perhaps appears utopian in the short term, it at least vindicates the concept of self-management, which aims at another kind of social relationship. Organizations representing such a sector will not be trade unions per se, and they should extend to the whole of the peasantry. Their meeting face to face with the ordinary trade unions should bring the latter out of their isolation, and enable them to escape the reproach of sectoral egoism which is raised against them and which they should take with utmost seriousness in the African context.



In any case, if one stayed with the OATUU-OUSA model, which so many African leaders ignorantly hold up as an ideal, namely the ideal of the single and mandatory union, entirely controlled from higher up, thus allowing strikes to be prevented, worker productivity to be increased, and worker demands diminished, let us admit forthwith that it would be better to suppress them. The government's appointed agents can transmit its orders perfectly well by themselves. It is obvious that it is not the unions' role to see to the building of the nation, which moreover needs to be defined, or even economic development, but, in the framework of a system controlled by the wage-earners, to compensate for the inferior position of workers in the relations of production.

Even from the point of view of development, and in a productivist ideology, they are useful to prevent managers from yielding to expedience and to provide an outlet for worker frustrations, to avoid a build-up of anger which could end in an outbreak of violent strikes and actions. These latter would in reality be much more deleterious than a slowdown in the rate of accumulation of basic capital, that admirable goal which many African states openly embrace, and for which they proclaim themselves ready to sacrifice everything.

What can be said in conclusion?

A recent phenomenon, not yet involving more than a small part of the population, African unions are like the continent itself, which is trying to rebuild its identity without being able to break with a global system which wanted to despoil it. Their situation is characteristic of countries where, to follow Gramsci's terminology, one is surprised to observe that the distinction between political society and polite society is belied by the facts. These two categories are in fact inseparable, limited to a small minority. By contrast, the immense majority is cast out of polite society, into a status of non-existence, an object of exploitation in the name of an abstract vision of the nation, which is defined without any connection to the social and cultural reality of the people. An uneasy elite, and more and more cut off from the masses, is searching in vain [ways] to control the latter and moves ineluctably toward centralist and authoritarian solutions. In absence of regulation and counterweight, the worst despotisms are free to emerge.

Now up to the present African unionism has only represented a fraction of this elite, or at least has only been led, basically, by a fraction. It is alien to the most oppressed and poorest elements which constitute the mass of the population, but which are also the bearers of African identity and among whom are the only forces which could permit real development.

Thus their profoundly contradictory situation is explained. Powerful agents of national liberation, the African unions do not represent the mass of the workers, and the demands of the wage-earners often seem the expression of the egoism of a privileged minority. This explains the fact

that their adversary function is not easily accepted and how they have at last been brought to heel by the independent states, despite the great power which they demonstrated during the preceding period.

But the advocacy function, which they hardly perform anymore, remains a necessity. It is the *sine qua non* of the development in Africa of an organic democracy, without which neither African identity nor real development is possible.

The free competition of unions cannot, however, be found or developed unless the peoples of Africa succeed in breaking with the mechanical imitation, which besides is impossible, of political models which are already bankrupt in Europe, in order to achieve an organic democracy which will return power and initiative to their peoples. The profound restructuring of rural African societies, taking care not to destroy them, starting at the local communities, could then support a limited and balanced urbanization and industrialization. In such a context, trade unionism could become a mass phenomenon and play a role in the establishment of equilibrium and checks and balances without which no democratic future, no real development, is possible. And this is not a question, I believe, of fantasies tied to the European tradition or to certain circumstances, but of universal ideas tied to human nature

Otherwise, the unions have no other future than that of being a driving belt of the state, and an organization of surveillance and repression of the workers in support of a productivist logic of human exploitation. They will then be swept away once this particular historical stage will have passed, as I think cannot fail to happen.

[Lecture given at C.R.A. [expansion unknown], University of Paris I, on 11 January 1979.

#### ACRONYMS

- AFRO: African Regional Organization
- ANTUF: All Nigeria Trade Union Federation
- BTUC: British Trade Union Congress
- CGTA: General Confederation of African Workers
- CISL/ICFTU: International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
- CNTS: National Confederation of Senegalese Workers
- CSA/ATUC: African Trade Union Confederation
- FSM/WFTU: World Federation of Trade Unions

PSPA/AATUP: All African Trade Union Federation  
 GTUC: Ghana Trade Union Congress  
 KLF: Kenya Labor Federation  
 NTUC: Nigerian Trade Union Congress  
 OUSA/OATUU: Organization of African Trade Union Unity  
 SUDES: Sole Democratic Trade Union of Senegalese Teachers  
 UGTAN: General Union of Workers of Black Africa  
 UGTT: Tunisian General Federation of Labor  
 UTLS: Union of Free Workers of Senegal  
 USTT: Federation of Labor Unions of Tunisia  
 ZCTU: Zambia Congress of Trade Unions

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# INDEPENDENCE OF FRANCOPHONE AFRICA EXAMINED

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[Article by Alex Rondon: "How Independent Is Francophone Africa After 20 Years?"]

[Text] This year is the 20th anniversary of independence of all of France's former colonies with the exception of Guinea. During the next four months we will be publishing a series of occasional articles dealing with different aspects of Francophone Africa.

The first consists of a review article, the first part of which appears this week, by Alex Rondon, which considers some aspects of Francophone Africa, the relationship between France and its former colonies and the prospects for the future.

DISCUSSION about the development of France's former colonies since independence has been bedevilled by a paradox which has been aggravated by the limited attention which has been paid to the subject. Though all these countries opted for independence as individual territories 20 years ago, they continue to show sufficient elements in their development to justify their being referred to collectively, though somewhat misleadingly, as Francophone Africa.

Why misleadingly? A brief phrase in last year's budget report of the French Ministry of Co-operation should illustrate the central issue. In describing the geographical distribution of French aid, it defined Francophone Africa as those countries in which at least 3 per cent of the population have as their main language French. One can travel without interruption from Tangier to Libreville, by way N'Djamena and Bangui, without ever having to go into a territory whose politically dominant group is not French-speaking.

It is the language of power, of power

bequeathed, on strict conditions, by France. The conditions were accepted by African élites as part of a deal that would ensure their security in political power. The language represents a culture that is alien to the majority of the populations but which continues to be considered as the official language. In another generation there will be thousands more young people who will be proficient in French, because without it, and whatever nationalist rhetoric they are served, they know that advancement will be denied them, and advancement consists of a niche in the bureaucracies of Francophone Africa. One is faced therefore with a complex issue. France did not impose the language after independence; it was willingly adopted by independent nations. Language, along with rule by a single party or the military, has become the instrument for unity in the nation. Those who control the instruments have proved to be the social groups which inherited the machinery of state at independence from France.

## Unity and diversity

There are other instruments which France bequeathed to the nationalist leaders of each territory to facilitate their consolidation of power and which in return ensured France a pre-eminent, almost exclusive role. If language provided the cultural link, it was reinforced by a series of institutional ties both bilaterally between France and the territory and among all the territories all of which have been cemented by the support of France. Twenty years after independence, President Senghor is in the process of creating a Francophone Commonwealth whose geographical foundation is in Africa, and whose *raison d'être* are the numerous knots by which these countries have been tied by France to each other and to France.

Two books\* which have appeared recently deal with the problem of unity, without ever really facing the major issue of why this notion of unity has existed in the first place. They illustrate the paradox mentioned earlier of unity contending with diversity. However, on reading them, one is struck by the absence of any thorough analysis of the French role both in the period leading up to decolonisation and in the subsequent two decades. In fact this paradox could be resolved by accepting, as some are very reluctant to do, the fact that the continuity of French presence in most sectors has conditioned the development of all these countries. It is not within the framework of the French influence (which might be consciously or, as is often the case, unconsciously operated) that the embryonic signs of diversity and autonomy are seen. I would go further by suggesting that the existence of this framework has delayed the emergence of that autonomy and could seriously compromise it because it has gone so far in consolidating the positions of those elites who are the instruments of and operators of that relationship between France and Africa. In other words, independence has to be redefined while one establishes the precise nature of where decisions are taken concerning the development of France's former colonies.

## Economic and social

This, inevitably takes one back to the period leading up immediately to independence. The story of politics in French-speaking Africa has been well told in English already (by Ruth Schachter Morgenthau and Edward Mortimer). It is one of the "balkanisation" of Francophone Africa. The reasons were economic (Ivory Coast refused to become the milch cow of the AOF, Dahomey, nestling near the Nigerian giant rejected the idea of diketas emanating from a distant federal capital in Darak, the Mossi agitated for their own territory) and also social in that ethnic conflict often occurred in the mines in Guinea, against Tugulese and Voltaias in Ivory Coast, over the blacks of Southern Mauritania. There were, in addition, personal ambitions. Why become a small fish in the very large pond of the proposed federated community of states when one could be the big fish in the small territorial pond? The results were territories shorn of competent trained people to run them, but controlled by elites which had established themselves, with the ultimate approval of the French authorities — Hamani Diori eventually came to power in Niger, for instance, after the elections were rigged against Djibo Bakary.

These elites were in desperate need of some security in the knowledge that they were acquiring responsibility for economies that were vulnerable monocultures which until independence had the guarantee of the French market. Now it was continuity with France on conditions or the frightening plunge into the world market. Only Guinea opted out, though its subsequent experience as a country that is still dependent on the unprocessed export of its iron and bauxite and is led by an elite which controls the state apparatus has rendered it effectively little different to most of the other states.

## Central theme of objections

Those who have argued against the balkanisation, President Senghor being the



most prominent among them — and de Beunet takes up their arguments — have had two central themes to their objections. It was said by some that with independence to all the 14 territories one would have "African governments running European administrations", while others said that at least a federated community would be able to take advantage of the complementarity of economic development in each territory.

Instead 14 territories engaged in a series of separate negotiations with France in the months leading up to mid-1960 which culminated in a mass of comprehensive co-operation agreements in the fields of economic affairs, education, culture, defence, communications, civic status and property rights.

General de Gaulle, summing up that year and the result of the agreements which were the condition for independence, puts it eloquently: "Between France, on the one hand, and a sizeable part of Africa on the other, an assemblage of men, territories and resources was built up whose common language was French, which in terms of currency constituted the franc zone, in which goods of every kind were exchanged on a preferential basis, in which there was regular consultation on political and diplomatic matters, in which each was pledged to help the other in case of danger; in which sea and air transport and the telegraph, the telephone and radio networks were co-ordinated; in which every citizen, wherever he came from and wherever he went, knew and felt himself, far from being a stranger, to be welcome, esteemed and to a large extent at home."

## Rise of the bourgeoisie

It meant the constitution of a network of links, whose foundation would be the franc zone, which in itself places serious constraints on the monetary independence of the member states — in almost any other context the franc zone may have been welcomed but between Paris and its ex-colonies it raises the ugly question: whether decolonisation? It has also created the conditions for privileged trading ties between France and these countries,

favouring of French capital and dependence on foreign capital, initially overwhelmingly French, for investment in development and reinforced the relative power of the French enterprises already in existence, and the continuation of dependence on export commodities to the international market.

The African corollary is captured in the title of one of Biarnes chapters "The inevitable rise of the bourgeoisie"

## Houphouët on "How to lose Africa"

ACCORDING to President Houphouët Boigny, the West is about to "lose Africa". In a remarkably vigorous interview with the editor of the French weekly *Paris-Match*, the Ivorian leader expressed not only his fears about the Soviet role in Africa, but also of the shortightedness of the West in its dealings with Africa.

That Africa might become the stage for a military confrontation between the West and the Soviet Union is not a realistic proposition in his view. It is the diverging interpretation of détente which worries the President. In the East, he suggests, détente is a means not an end. The conflict that will take place in Africa will be an economic one; "that is to say the real battleground will be the supply of raw materials, of which Europe is bereft". The Soviet Union, according to President Houphouët-Boigny, will achieve its end by preventing the delivery of raw materials to Europe from its principal source, Africa. "The Russian objective is to prevent countries in which it has a foothold, through Cuba, from delivering raw materials to Europe." They will achieve this by destroying stability in countries — he used Angola, Ethiopia and Congo as examples — by inflicting a form of "organised poverty". If Communist influence expands and if Africa is unable to deliver its raw materials to Europe, "Russia will paralyse Europe without firing a shot".

As to what the West could do to redress matters, the President was bitterly critical of the way in which the West treats its friends. The worst error of the West has been in not paying the right price for raw materials from

"friendly countries" which are attached to the West by culture, language and liberal economies".

## Falling price of cocoa

The best example of this is to be found in the treatment of Ivory Coast by what he considers to be the speculation in New York and London in cocoa, the price of which has declined from over £3,000 a tonne in July, 1977, to less than £1,000 today. Instead of following the inflationary trend in the international economy, prices for agricultural products are falling, and there is not even a guaranteed price for the current season, the President observed. "The prices of our vital exports are at the mercy of the caprice of the brokers. Europe is gambling with the lives of our peasants without realising that it is gambling at the same time with its own destiny." The decline in the price of raw materials has also affected minerals, and yet the President notes bitterly that "mineral prices fall, but steel prices do not fall".

It is this sort of egoistic policy, the President maintains, which will impoverish and destabilise Europe's "best friend, Ivory Coast".

Reiterating the point that the West's worst enemy was its many commodity exchanges which speculate on raw materials and destabilise African economies for whose products that is no real guaranteed minimum price, the President added that he believed that the reason for the fall in prices was that they had been discriminated to justify a further decline in prices — allegations there had been overproduction. This, he says, is not true. Brazil, about to overtake Ivory Coast as the world's leading producer, uses half of its production for domestic consumption, and he noted that other countries had already been obliged to sell ahead a year's production, because they have no other recourse.

The overall result leads President Houphouët-Boigny to a damning conclusion: "The incomprehension of international capitalism in Africa and the Russian wish to destabilise these states will have the same result: permanent revolution and generalized misery. Who will have won? The result is not flattering to

the West and our youth is beginning to wonder if you (the West) are going to continue to sacrifice their interests."

The President had another complaint. The West has helped in the installation of industry in Africa, but refuses to import the products. "It only wants to buy our raw materials." The attack went on to a third point: against the "dishonesty of some companies". He was referring to the crippling costs imposed by the construction of the sugar processing plants in the north of Ivory Coast. They overcharged, according to the President, to the tune of 34bn. CFA francs. The only unit to have proved cost effective was that constructed by the French at Bordeaux, he said.

His basic message was that the West must change its economic policies towards Africa. This will be possible when the West appreciates "that the best weapon against adventures is not the despatch of aircraft and troops; it is in facilitating the happiness of people." Europe "must get a grip of itself because what is happening at the moment is sad. Europe still has things to offer to the world. One day Europe must be proud of its African daughter, as England today is proud of the United States."

President Houphouët-Boigny has never been one to mince his words, and there are many who might disagree with his view of the commodity and futures market. There was a slight hint that he might consider withdrawal from the commodity market when he contested the consumer opinion that the cocoa crop could not be stored for long in the humidity of the tropics. He noted, ominously, that Ivory Coast had the means now to store its crop for long periods.

His most important message, however, at which some other African leaders might balk, but which they cannot ignore, coming as it does from a leader of his international prestige, is that there is not "one world" but "two worlds" today: the East and the West. It is quite clear which he has opted for.

## Perfidious Albion rides again

IT SEEMS THAT in some French circles it is believed that perfidious Albion is at it again. A long article by *Figaro's* correspondent in Uganda suggests that the

French mission there, which included some military observers, is being sabotaged by the reaction in London, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. Somehow the World Service of the BBC seems to be the target of this criticism. The journalist suggests that French doctors and other helpers who listen to the World Service have been horrified at the interpretation of the French offer of assistance as an ambition to extend French influence in Uganda. The article suggests that this is the "spirit of Fashoda".

Having heard one of the BBC commentaries and having commented on the French assistance in Uganda in these columns, I would suggest that the French men and women have not quite got the point, which is that France is indeed interested in extending its economic ties with other parts of Africa, and eastern Africa is an important political and economic area for French policies. Paris no longer depends solely on its former colonies and is, in a sense, compensating by expanding. That the Ugandan action is a humanitarian gesture by France is beyond doubt. But there is the inescapable fact that in Africa, especially Anglophone Africa, the French role in the continent is not judged by polite ministerial visits to Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Lagos or Freetown, but by military interventions in Chad, Mauritania, Zaïre and Central African Republic.

## Survivor from Bokassa rule

ONE OF THE MAJOR sources of immediate disenchantment with the Dacko rule in the Central African Republic was his decision to retain Bokassa's Prime Minister,

Henri Maidou, whom Dacko made vice-president. Now, it is reported that President Dacko has removed this obstacle by sanctioning the dismissal and house arrest of M. Maidou. It was reported that the Prime Minister, Christian Bernard Ayandho, was also dismissed. Both men are now under house arrest and being guarded by French troops.

## ONCAD is abolished

SENEGAL'S ECONOMIC problems have been frequently commented upon in these columns, and one of the most constant targets for criticism has been ONCAD, the National Office of Co-operation and Development Aid. It had the monopoly for the purchase of the groundnut crop, the sale of the country's rice production, the supply of agricultural equipment, fertiliser and seed for the groundnut sector and was also responsible for 1,600 peasant co-operatives.

Now in a surprising development, the government has decided to abolish ONCAD. Criticism reached a peak last year when it was revealed that there had been massive embezzlement by the office's agents. Peasants had, anyway, become so disillusioned with ONCAD that they refused to repay their debts.

Under the new system, co-operatives will continue to exist but will sell their groundnut crop directly to Senegal's four main groundnut oil refineries. Agricultural equipment will be supplied by the national rural supply company. A special commission has been set up to find employment for ONCAD's 4,500 employees.

## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**ALGERIA EXPLORES FOR OIL--**The Algerian oil minister, Ndugu Belkacem Nabi, has arrived in Dar Es Salaam today for talks in connection with drilling for oil off the coast of Tanzania. Ndugu Nabi told reporters that Algeria will start drilling for oil off the coast of Tanzania before the end of this year. He said oil experts from Algeria will arrive in the country in the near future to implement this project. He said Algeria will soon bring in oil drilling equipment. Ndugu Nabi is leading a four-man delegation. Meanwhile, the minister of water, energy and minerals, Ndugu al-Noor Kassum, said that an Algerian firm, [name indistinct], will be responsible for the oil-drilling operation. A cooperation agreement between Tanzania and Algeria will be signed at the end of the 2-day visit by the Algerian oil minister. The oil-drilling operation will be carried out by Algeria following the discovery of oil off the coast of Tanzania. Parliament recently passed a bill on drilling for and production of oil in the country. A foreign office spokesman said that Ndugu Nabi will also deliver a special message to President Nyerere from President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria. [Text] [LD032148 Dar Es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1700 GMT 3 Sep 80]

**ZIMBABWE-KENYA TRADE--**Zimbabwe is aiming for a "trade boom" with Kenya, the Assistant Secretary of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Mr David Moss, forecasts. He said Kenya had previously tended to be a trading centre for countries in the East and Central African regions. It could also be a trading centre for Zimbabwe. Mr Moss has just returned from an export promotion tour of Kenya accompanied by another official from the Ministry, Mr Chris Mazhandu. The two men also went to arrange Zimbabwe's participation in the six-day Kenya International Show starting on September 29. Kenyan businessmen had expressed interest in buying a wide range of items produced in Zimbabwe. "There is a great potential for our agricultural equipment, footwear, vegetable seeds and higher quality clothing." Steel was also likely to attract Kenyan importers and opportunities for Kenyan exports were being explored. At the show trade information will be provided for prospective importers and the stand will be manned by Zimbabweans. A Salisbury travel agency in conjunction with Kenya Airways will offer an inclusive tour of Kenya for businessmen attending the show. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD-BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 1]

SA-ZAIRE AIR ROUTE TALKS--Pretoria--The South African government is conducting negotiations with the Zairian government with the intention of establishing regular freight aircraft flights between the two countries, according to a statement made here yesterday by Transport Affairs Minister Chris Heunis. The negotiations are subject to the condition that both countries will be able to provide this service. Heunis said that freight flights will be scheduled on an ad hoc basis between Johannesburg and Kinshasa in collaboration with Air Zaire. This will not affect the flights of South Africa's syndicate partnerships and the flights with hired aircraft. On 21 July of this year the South African Airline carried out a test flight to Kinshasa. [Text] [Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 31 Jul 80 p 11] 7964

CSO: 4408



## SURVEY OF AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

London WEST AFRICA in English 11, 18 Aug 80

[Two-part article by Colin Foy: "Regrowth of Angola"]

[11 Aug 80, pp 1475-6]

[Excerpts]

ANGOLA'S traumatic birth as an independent nation at the end of 1975 has left it with scars still to heal.

On the agricultural side, the familiar problem of co-ordinating peasant production to supply surplus food to the towns is being tackled. The problem is that the peasants don't want money if there is nothing to spend it on and the destruction of Angola's internal trade and economic infrastructure mean that this is all too often the case. An attempt is being made to overcome the problem by bartering basic goods with the peasants in return for the staple, maize, crop. Other crops, such as fruit and vegetables, are sold for money at town and village markets where the government is trying to supply consumer goods for sale. The flight of people into the forests in the Central Highlands following Unita's defeat, and their current sudden return, are, however, complicating the situation.

800,000 people have come out of the forests in the provinces of Huambo and Bie alone since January. Their former land has for four years lain fallow and, in any case, most of these *regressados* are suffering from malnutrition and a whole range of diseases. Besides, what is left of Unita, after the recent government campaign against them, have turned to banditry, burning crops and

stealing livestock in the more remote areas. This causes a secondary flow of refugees towards the towns. The result is that strictly local production cannot support the population and supplies need to be moved from other provinces where there is a surplus into Bie and similarly afflicted areas. The catch here is that is that the Luanda bureaucracy all too often are slow or obstructive in facilitating such food movements. Lt.-Col. Petroff, Provincial Commissar of Huambo, says this problem is being tackled by the setting up of provincial planning departments in each province with a degree of autonomy to deal with each other. This will certainly have to be done quickly, for the situation, particularly in Bie, is getting desperate.

As far as cash crops are concerned, the government has the situation under much better control. Most of the coffee, cotton and palm oil products were produced on European plantations on a fairly large scale. Now these have been taken over as state farms.

Thus, the evidence is that the state farms appear to be operating reasonably successfully.

MPLA's strategy, as a Marxist party, is eventually to have a planned economy. This, of course, will necessitate the phasing out of individual peasant production and the incorporation of the peasants into organised co-operatives and state farms. The "proletarianising" of the peasantry, however, is still a long way off and its final

achievement will have to await the coming of peace to the country.

One interesting project has been started. Situated near Kaala, south east of Huambo, an ambitious scheme seeks to link a state farm with a quarry and stone crushing plant close to a spur of the Benguela railway. Included in the plans is a new town with social, sports, educational and medical facilities and housing 10,000 people who will supply the labour for the whole complex.

Commissar Petroff explains, "The aim is to turn peasants into proletarians, to show the old Unita supporters that the government can give them good houses, jobs and security. The *regressados* form an available and ready, landless workforce; we hope that other people, seeing the success of this project, will be inclined to move into others like it."

Before moving the workers in, however, the basic buildings are being completed at the farm and the stone crushing plant. The new town has yet to be begun. In the meantime, equipment and machinery arrives from East Germany who, under the contract, will also supply training and

support personnel. Petroff emphasises the ambitious nature of the scheme and stresses that labour will be recruited on a voluntary basis, if it is successful, more like it will follow.

## Not too bad

Overall, agriculture is not in such a bad way, considering that Angola has suffered five years of war since independence. Many improvements, of course, can be made. The bureaucracy must be overcome in order to make it more responsive and obedient to the needs of the nation. Education, medical care and industrial goods need to be made more widely available. In general, however, the Angolan government and MPLA-Workers' Party do not appear blind to the short-comings, they are openly discussed and genuine attempts are being made to come to terms with them and deal with them. The refugee problems, the South African invasions and the economic disruption caused by the civil war and occasional Unita activity, however, make all these tasks more diff.

[18 Aug 80, pp 1549, 1551]

[Excerpts]

PORTUGAL viewed Angola as its most prized possession. This was the most developed colony and the richest, with its mineral deposits of diamonds, iron ore and oil.

Today, Angola remains rich in resources but their exploitation has been interrupted by the constant warfare which has plagued the country since independence.

Reconstruction began straight after independence, but it has been a long and difficult job. One of the most difficult parts of the process, after the lack of trained technical personnel, has been the difficulty of keeping the factories going at maximum capacity. The director of TEXTANG, a textile factory in Luanda explains: "The salary is fixed at 17,000 Kwanzas (about £245), which is below what workers can get elsewhere. So, many left initially and now we lack sufficient skilled operators." Thus, the factory, while it does have experienced middle-level technical people (repairmen,

fitters, etc), cannot get enough trained people to work the machines.

## Comfortable relationship

Elsewhere, the situation is better. SATEL, in Dondo, and CO-Huambo, in Huambo are two other textile factories, both operating more efficiently than TEXTANG. Part of the reason is that their work-force did not have the range of alternative wage employment that their counterparts in Luanda had. They are also much smaller. It is possible in either of these two to see how the system of workers' involvement in decision making operates, with its trade union representatives on the management committee and that committee's consultation with shop-floor meetings. The result appears to be a comfortable

working relationship which helps the companies to cope with some of the problems of transport and supply which inevitably crop up.

All the industrial enterprises, however, suffer as a result of the scarcity of consumer goods and inefficient food supply lines. The scarcity of goods has led to the growth of a black market and huge rises in prices. Often, food, when difficult to obtain in the towns, can be found in the countryside, but the travelling to get it can cause unacceptable levels of absenteeism in the factories. All this has led to an effective devaluation of the Kwanza so that people prefer to be paid, at least partly, in the goods they produce — thus fuelling the black market. The process has now become circular and the government realises that, sooner or later, it will have to take strong measures to break the circle.

The Benguela railway, often the target of Unita attacks, is now making a modest recovery. More or less regular trains pass along its length and this is attested to by the presence of Zairean wagons in Huambo and Lobito. Sabotage has taken a heavy toll, both of stock and lives, and the depot in Huambo has the heartbreaking task of repairing the damage done. The repair yard there is littered with the shattered remains of rolling stock torn apart by terrorist bombs. Most of the mines are laid in thinly-populated Moxico province and their target has been the railway's diesel engines — of the 25 running at independence, only five remained in service by January this year.

The recent rout of Unita forces has, however, resulted in greater success in defending the line and hundreds of kilos of explosive have been recovered. New diesels are on the way from UN and EEC sources and an upturn in the railway's fortunes seems to be imminent. Alternative routes from the inland, such as the Beira railway, have been found to be unable to make up for the services the Benguela railway provides and it is therefore seen by all its users as a vital asset. With international co-operation, then, the railway will again recover its pre-eminence as an integral part of the African transport network. It will, however, remain vulnerable. 700 miles long, with extensive stretches in sparsely populated areas, the target is still an easy

one and its defence will continue to be a difficult task.

## Mining is recovering

On the mining side, DIAMANG has recovered from its all-time low and now produces 1,400,000 carats' worth of diamonds per year — at twice 1973 values. 80 per cent of production is of gemstones, for which England is the largest customer. Cutting is no longer done in Portugal, where much of the profit used to be creamed off, and now Angola holds 77.21 per cent of the shares in the company.

Another success story is the oil industry. Here, Angola, recognising the paucity of its technical expertise, has decided to develop its petroleum resources in partnership with Gulf Oil of the United States. The deposits located in Cabinda and Saio (N. Angola), are exploited under special laws which vest all mineral rights in the state. Gulf's contribution comes in the form of technology and finance. Angolan personnel are being trained in a special petroleum school near Ngunza (formerly Novo Redondo), in Kwanza-Sul province. The school, set up with Italian assistance, is an impressive place, employing the latest equipment and techniques eventually to train people for work at all levels of the business. Production of oil is proceeding apace and is on target to reach the levels set for it by the government.

Other mining projects include plans for extracting iron ore, black granite, quartz and phosphates while, in the future, it is hoped to mine copper. In these areas, the situation is less secure. The iron ore mines are in Kassinga and Kasala Kitungu. The latter, near Dondo, is in its formative stages, but the Kassinga mine has been producing for some years. The problem is that Kassinga was, and still is, the site of South African attacks and operations there have often been interrupted. As a further complication, the Kassinga mine relies on using a railway which is often the target of South African sabotage. Nonetheless, both mines are in production and output is rising. Eventually, it is hoped to incorporate

Kassinga into an international iron and steel producing complex involving an independent Namibia, Zambia and Zaïre. These plans, of course, will have to await the outcome of the complex political situations in the Namib region.

Angola is potentially one of the foremost industrial nations in Africa. With the large hydro-electric potential of the Cunene, Cuanza and other rivers, and with its vast mineral resources, there is no reason why it should not become so. Already its industrial base is impressive. Its biggest problem, of course, is achieving political and military peace — something which has eluded it thus far.

CSO: 4420

## ANGOLA

### BRIEFS

DIAMOND PRODUCTION--The Angolan diamond mining company Diamang produced 675,000 carats in the first six months of this year and expects to reach its 1980 production target of 1.4m. carats, the Angola news agency ANGOP reports. Last year Angola produced 341,000 carats, compared to a pre-independence output of 2.4m. carats in 1974. Diamang plans to raise production to 2m. carats a year in 1983. Almost all diamond mining in Angola is now reported to be mechanised, except in the Andrada area, where manual methods were still used. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 11 Aug 80 p 1503]

CSO: 4420



DATA ON AGREEMENTS SIGNED WITH PRC ON 8 JULY

Brazzaville MWETI in French 10 Jul 80 pp 1, 5

[Article by special correspondent Claude Bivoua: "New Perspectives for Sino-Congolese Cooperation"]

[Excerpt] New perspectives have decidedly been opening up for amicable Sino-Congolese cooperation since the signing Tuesday 8 July in Peking of four documents following talks conducted in person by Premier Guofeng Hua and President Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

Inspired by the general impetus for national recovery and an end to the "freeze"--as prescribed by the delegates to the Third Special Congress of the Congolese Labor Party--these perspectives are taking form in the sectors of Mines and Energy, Rural Economy, Transportation, Culture, and Health.

Three documents establish the dimensions of these perspectives. They are: the report concerning the economic and technical cooperation authorized between the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of the Congo; the report concerning the talks with respect to implementation of four new points; and the cultural agreement, renewable every 5 years.

The new chapter in the friendship existing between the Congo and China is embodied in a list of new projects for some of which the preliminary studies have already been made. Specifically, the projects chosen relate to priority sectors such as agriculture, transportation and health. Principal among them are the survey--and construction--of the Ngo-Djambala highway; the development of three airports, at Loubomo, Sibiti and Djambala, respectively; the development of rice growing; the supplying of water to Lekana; and the equipping of 10 microhydroelectric power plants.

Because the projects undertaken previously have experienced minor difficulties they will benefit from appropriate measures: for example, the state farm at Kombe will be rehabilitated and CHAONA [Naval Shipyard] will build ships with metal hulls. The Kinsoundi textile mill, however,

is one sector for which the Chinese side believed additional study is necessary. Other sectors such as the commercial sector (and CFTACOM [National Marketing Office] in particular) require--to a lesser degree--an in-depth review of delays in deliveries and also of its financing.

Under the provisions of the cultural agreement the contracting parties--in accordance with the principles of equality and reciprocal advantages--will develop exchanges and cooperation in the fields of culture, education, the social sciences, public health, sports, publishing, the press, and radio broadcasting.

1072

CSO: 44.00

# ADDITIONAL DETAILS ON PRC-CONGOLESE COOPERATION

Brazzaville MWBTI in French 15 Jul 80 p 2

[Article: "The Facts of Sino-Congolese Cooperation"]

[Text] Three documents make it possible in this month of July to draw up the list of accomplished facts and projects under way in PRC-Congolese cooperation now beginning its 16th year: the economic and technical agreement of 8 July 1980, the report on the terms of the previous agreements, and the cultural cooperation agreement of 8 July 1980. Given below are details from these texts to be noted:

--two projects were to be brought immediately to the execution phase, as indicated in the above-cited report;

--the Brazzaville Peoples Palace. The Peoples Republic of Congo has confirmed with China that the sum of 1.3 billion planned for necessary local expenditures during the start-up phase set for the first half of 1981 is now partially available; the drawing up of the plan was completed well before the scheduled deadline;

--the popularization center for agricultural techniques will be established near the Kombe State Farm, 17 km south of Brazzaville.

Three projects have been in suspense since 1975, the provisions for putting them into execution have been re-drafted:

--construction of the Military Academy commits the Peoples Republic of Congo to asphalt the road leading to the construction site; to assure water supply and preliminary electric power for the zone in the vicinity of Itatolo;

--the Pointe-Noir Polyclinic Hospital required feasibility studies; a Chinese mission will come before the end of the year to pull together the dossiers already on hand;

Finally the water supply project for Lekana mentioned in the agreements of 2 March 1975 will also proceed to the feasibility study phase before the end of the current year.

## New Arrangements

In view of the improvement in production in the rice-growing regions of the Congo, China has agreed to send a mission to the Congo before the end of the first half of 1981.

The moratorium for repayment of the 1969 loan has been increased by 4 more years, as well as the time limit for utilizing credits going back to 1972, extended by 5 years.

Three new projects have been examined in the course of the conversations:

- the project for asphaltting the Ngo-Djambala-Lekana road (165 km);
- the construction of runways at Loubomo, Sibiti and Djambala airports;
- and finally the construction of ten small hydroelectric power stations.

The Chinese mission has formulated for its own account a forest products project on Congolese territory.

The last request recorded in these agreements is from the Congolese side; inviting China to diversify the production of the Madingou lime-spar crushing plant by supplying forges for the manufacture of lime and chalk.

## The Old Projects

The understandings arrived at in the talks between Sassou and Hun Guofeng call for "increased development of economic and technical relations between the two countries."

In order to achieve this purpose China agrees to provide renovation work on the shortwave broadcasting station of RTC [Congolese Radio and Television] in accordance with a previous agreement concluded on 18 March last; Chinese experts are in process of checking out equipment on the site. Concrete specifications for renovation will follow when this mission has completed its diagnosis.

Conversion of the Chacoma naval shipyard will get under way during the first half of 1981 for the purpose of constructing light tonnage vessels with steel hull.

The Peoples Republic of Congo reserves for itself the right to do the study on a solution for the problem raised by the Kinsoundi textile mill following the difficulties reported by the Chinese in supplying more modern equipment than that in place, at the present time.

The Kombe State Farm needed straightening out, recently taken in hand by a Chinese technical commission by way of preparing a report expected this coming September.

Regarding the projects due to come into being at one or another practical phase of the forthcoming projects, the Chinese Government has granted the Congolese Government a 1.3 billion credit without interest for a period of 5 years beginning 1 January 1981, to alleviate the financial shortfall in projects already authorized and other projects to be decided on by consultation between the two governments.

Finally, the cultural cooperation agreement defines the area for bilateral initiatives in the fields of cultural affairs, education, social sciences, public health, sports, the press, and radio broadcasting. It deserves mention that the two countries agree to have their respective literary and artistic works translated and published.

2750

CSO: 4400



OFNACOM-PRODINTORG COOPERATION NOTED

Brazzaville MWETI in French 8 Jul 80 p 2

[Article: "Fruitful Cooperation Between OFNACOM and PRODINTORG"]

[Excerpts] As of next Monday the National Marketing Office (OFNACOM) will have a monopoly over the importation and marketing of Soviet canned goods. Pursuant to a \$1 million contract signed recently between OFNACOM and the Soviet firm PRODINTORG, approximately 45,000 cases of canned foods will be purchased this year by OFNACOM. Five kinds of canned foods will be marketed throughout the national territory.

It should be emphasized that PRODINTORG last 17 June organized--in Brazzaville--a product tasting of crab, salmon, caviar, mackerel and tuna for the benefit of trade officials of our country.

PRODINTORG last year supplied to the Congo a total of 35,500 cases of canned fish. The progress in respect to sales of canned foods on the Congolese market--and particularly in recent years--has been achieved thanks to fruitful cooperation with OFNACOM. The canned foods (kippered herring, sardines, mackerel and tuna) sold in the OFNACOM stores are well known to Congolese customers.

10902

CSO: 4400

APPEAL ON BEHALF OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Aug 80 p 5

[Letter to the Editor]

[Excerpt] Following publication of report by Philippe Decraene, "Djibouti, Birth of a Nation" (LE MONDE, 4, 5 July), the members of Defense Counsel for the Djibouti political prisoners, Messrs Comte, Fagart, Laval, Natali and Ziwie, brought to our attention a letter from which the following passages are excerpted: Although "the Territory is absolutely calm for a year," the consequences of a past and more troubled year -- hopefully behind us -- are still manifest: some forty individuals are still in confinement today, accused of "criminal attempts" for which they are awaiting court decision.

Judgment, if it ever takes place, will probably be handed down without benefit of defense, since we are "forbidden to enter plea" on the Territory, by reason of a presidential decision of 22 October 1979, the accused having mistakenly placed their confidence in us. Your correspondent's article written in the hope of bringing it forcefully to the attention of the President of the Republic in order that he may reverse himself on a position that defies the rights of the defense, [words missing] that there are in fact only two lawyers now practicing within the territory.

Let us hope that the spirit of justice will win the day in this country whose highest magistrate prides himself on being different from the other African nations.

2750

CSO: 4400

**COPWE SEMINAR HELD AT GROUND FORCE HEADQUARTERS**

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 19 Aug 80 pp 1, 6

[Text] Addis Ababa (ENA)--A three-day seminar on COPWE and its mandate got underway here yesterday for men-in-uniform and civil servants within the headquarters of the Ground Force here.

Comrade Brig. General Kefalegn Yibza, Commander of the Ground Force and COPWE Central Committee member, said at the opening of the seminar that through the wise and far-sighted leadership of Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam, the Ethiopian Revolution has reached its present reliable stage.

Speaking earlier, Comrade Captain Gebre-Giorgis Berhanu, COPWE Central Committee alternate member and COPWE representative of the Political Department of the Ground Force said that the experiences to be drawn during the seminar would enable the participants live up to more challenging endeavours in their revolutionary commitment.

The seminar participants will be briefed on the process and progress of the Ethiopian Revolution, party, government and mass organizations, the historic First COPWE Congress and its outcome, the aim and structure of COPWE and the role of the main political Department of the Revolutionary Army of Revolutionary Ethiopia.

Meanwhile a day-long seminar was Sunday organized for employees of the various corporations under the Ministry of Domestic Trade.

Opening the seminar, Comrade Dr. Ashagre Yigletu, Minister of Domestic Trade and COPWE Central Committee member, underscored the role of the Ministry's employees in providing the consumer public with essential commodities and in the efforts made to promote trade services with the joint cooperation of government and mass organizations.

A joint declaration issued at the end of the seminar pledged the more than 1,700 participants to undertake all sacrifice to help enable COPWE attain

its historic mission. The seminar participants also expressed firm and resolute support to Comrade Chairman Mengistu's leadership of the Commission. A call was also made in the declaration for the wider printing and circulation of SERTO ADER, the organ of the Central Committee of COPWE.

In another development the seminar for supervisors and technicians from educational upgrading centres in the 14 regions, the Assab administration and Addis Ababa has wound up.

The participants deliberated on the implementation of the aims and tasks of educational centres and exchanged ideas and experiences on how to resolve mutual problems.

In the platform they adopted at the end of the ten-day seminar, the participants pledged to pay every sacrifice to help enable COPWE achieve its mission while reaffirming their wholehearted support for Comrade Chairman Mengistu's leadership of the Commission.

They also vowed to do everything in their power to contribute towards the success of the on-going Literacy Campaign.

Speaking at the closing of the seminar, Comrade Kibede Tiku, head of the Curriculum Supervision, urged the participants to genuinely serve the broad masses with the knowledge they acquired during the seminar.

CSO: 4420

## STATISTICS PROVIDED ON ADDIS TYRE FACTORY

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 19 Aug 80 p 3

[Excerpts] The Addis Tyre Factory is one of those establishments that have registered commendable gains over the past six years. When the factory commenced operation in 1972 its daily production capacity was 200 tyres, but in the course of time, most particularly since the popular revolution, the production capacity has been raised and today the factory could produce 300-400 tyres a day.

In an exclusive interview with THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD here Saturday Comrade Getachew Bitew, Chairman of the Production Committee of the Factory, said that the remarkable progress in production could well be attributed to, mainly, the introduction of shift system coupled with the enthusiasm and zeal displayed by the workers towards their work. The production committee, according to Comrade Getachew, was set up in 1979 and was restructured in April 1980. The committee, he said, consists of system control, production process control, technical and administrative sub-committees.

#### Improve Quality

The factory, he said, produces tyres and inner tubes. In 1973 some 29,755 tubes and 31,098 tyres were produced. The total sales income during the period under review was, 1,783,528 Birr, it was learnt. In line with the on-going National Revolutionary Development Programme, during the first phase campaign about 92,832 tyres and 84,222 tubes were produced and the total sales income was 26 million Birr. This is the highest production output registered in the history of the Addis Tyre Factory. According to Comrade Getachew, the increase in production output was made possible as a result of the active participation of the workers.

Comrade Getachew said that despite the constraints which stemmed from technical faults in the period 1979-80, the total production during the period has shown an increase of some 5,000 tyres over the set target. The factory produces tyres and inner tubes in accordance with the demand for tyres for tractors and heavy trucks whenever the demand rises the supply or the



production of such materials will also be increased. All in all, the chairman of the production committee said that the total production in 1979 had increased by 67 per cent over that in 1973. The factory is presently producing tyres with 42 patterns for automobiles, heavy and medium-size trucks, it was learnt. Efforts are being made in collaboration with experts to improve the quality of tyres and inner tubes. Comrade Getachew noted.

At present, there are 651 workers in the factory. Of these 48 are women.

CSO: 4420

## BRIEFS

**STATISTICS FOR HIDES--Addis Ababa (ENA)--**The Ethiopian Abattoir Corporation this year processed 294,920 hides and skins for export and for domestic sales, Comrade Teklu Wolde-Giorgis the General Manager disclosed. Comrade Teklu noted that the Corporation has established a new hides and skins processing factory on the southern outskirts of the capital on the Debre-Zeit road. The Corporation's production in 1978 compared with those of the last two years shows an increase of 77,769 pieces, Comrade Teklu further indicated. The General Manager also reported that the Abattoir Corporation slaughtered 283,594 cattle during the last Ethiopian calendar year. He said that because of the strict quarantine applied by the Corporation administration, 95 per cent of the livestock slaughtered is free of all disease. There is a plan to build a new abattoir at a cost of 50 million Birr in effort to expand and modernize the Corporation's services, Comrade Teklu disclosed. Over 1,129,511 kgs of meat by-products were exported this year, exceeding last-year's export by 9.7 per cent, the General Manager said. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 19 Aug 80 p 1]

**GDR DONATION FOR LITERACY--Addis Ababa (ENA)--**A solidarity gift of 28 tons of educational materials worth more than one million Birr in aid for the on-going National Literacy Campaign was received yesterday from the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Documents for the gift were handed over to Comrade Girma Yilma, Minister of Information and National Guidance and COPWE Central Committee member who is also Chairman of the Propaganda and Aid Co-ordinating Panel of the National Literacy Campaign's Executive Committee, by Comrade Ambassador Gunther Mauersberger of the GDR during a ceremony at Friendship House here. The gift was jointly made by the GDR Solidarity Committee, the GDR Trade Unions Federation and FUER DICH, the GDR women's magazine, and was secured through the Ethiopian Peace and Solidarity Committee. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 20 Aug 80 pp 1, 5]

**SAVINGS, CREDIT CO-OPS--Addis Ababa (EH)--**The Savings and Credit Co-operatives Development Office, which is under the National Bank of Ethiopia, has facilitated the establishment of 160 savings and credit co-operatives over the past ten months. The Co-operatives Development Office was endorsed

with the task of helping establish 150 co-operatives through 20 organisers during 1972 E.C. Nonetheless, with only 6 organisers the office has managed to successfully facilitate the establishment of 160 savings and credit co-operatives, thereby fulfilling its target by 120 per cent. This was disclosed to THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD here yesterday by Comrade Asmamaw Enquobahrie, Officer-in-Charge of the Savings and Credit Co-operatives Development Office. The 160 savings and credit co-operatives have 20,000 members. 800,000 Birr was raised through the contribution of members, 300,000 Birr in reserve account and close to 4 million Birr collected from the savings of members. Comrade Asmamaw asserted. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 20 Aug 80 pp 1, 5]

CUBAN ROAD EQUIPMENT DONATION--Assab (ENA)--The Government of the Republic of Cuba Thursday donated various road building machinery worth 10 million Birr at a ceremony held at the Assab office of the Ethiopian Roads Authority (ERA). The donation was made by Comrade Raul Curbelo, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, to Comrade Addis Tedla, member of the PMAC Standing Committee, Vice-chairman of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council (NRDC-CPSC) and member of COPWE Executive Committee. It was learnt that the equipment and building machinery would be used for the construction of two feeder roads in the coffee producing regions of Kaffa and Illubabor. The machinery donated to ERA by the Cuban Government includes dozers, graders, loaders, water and fuel tankers, mobile garages, service cars, carrier truck with trailer, tractor and others. [Excerpts] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 23 Aug 80 pp 1, 3]

CSO: 4420

## BRIEFS

FRENCH COOPERATION VIEWED--The French Co-operation Minister M. Robert Galley has left for Paris after three days of what he called "frank talks" with Mali leaders on their country's acute economic difficulties. M. Galley, who met President Traore twice while in Mali, blamed Mali's problems on increasing world oil prices, international inflation and a drop in Malian exports, especially of groundnuts. The Minister, who oversees aid to France's former colonies, noted that Mali's oil-import bill had been climbing by 10,000 million Mali francs (about \$23m.) a year. He also said that Mali needed to find new products for export that would allow it to regain its former level of trade revenue. Mr Galley praised the "excellent development" of cotton production in Mali, but he noted that cotton prices had not kept pace with inflation, and that as a result, Mali was having balance-of-payments trouble. The aid minister said that the two nations would, through consultation in the coming weeks, try to "determine what part France can play in Mali's economic and financial construction." [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 25 Aug 80 p 1575]

CSO: 4420

COMMENTARY ON RENEWED U.S. INTEREST IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Jul 80 p 4

[Editorial: "Washington's African Policy"]

[Text] In the course of one of his speeches, James Carter, President of the United States, stressed that "today the United States is more deeply interested in African affairs than at any other time in its history." The statement is all the more significant in that until quite recently Washington considered its "interests" on the African continent to be "important but not vital."

Several factors explain the attention which the United States is showing in Africa, where serious political and military conflicts have occurred (to note only the intervention, organized by the United States, in Zaire). On one hand, there are the political, economic and strategic interests of the Americans; on the other hand, there are the particularly dynamic political processes which, according to former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, are developing "rapidly," making Africa one of the crucial problems of our time.

It is general knowledge that throughout the postwar period, U.S. African policy considered the European NATO allies, the former colonial powers, as the mainstay of the Western political positions on this continent.

In the mid-1970's, however, this policy began to be inconsistent with reality.

The fall of the Portuguese colonial empire and the subsequent emergence of young independent states, as well as the intensification of the struggles for national liberation in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, contributed to the deterioration of the pro-Western "status quo" in Africa; finally, the increasingly important role played by the African countries in the international arena forced the United States to revise its policy.

According to Washington's "new African policy," announced by Henry Kissinger in April 1976, the basic tasks are to keep Africa within the capitalist sphere, insofar as possible, and to divide the national liberation movements,



isolating them from the socialist countries and the world's progressive forces.

Economic interests constitute one of the bases for the increasing U.S. activity on the African continent. Quantitatively, Africa's share is still quite modest, representing about 3 percent of American direct private investments worldwide, and a little over 9 percent of U.S. trade overall. It is noted, however, that in the course of these last years, these quantitative indices have tended to rise (in 1973, for example, Africa's share of American business was 2.5 percent for imports and less than 1 percent for exports). The African countries are of increasing interest to the United States as potential markets for American-made articles.

In the 15 years from 1962 through 1976, the overall volume of trade with Washington increased almost 12-fold, while American investments south of the Sahara rose by about 600 percent.

Africa is already America's major supplier for a group of scarce raw materials. Among other products, the United States imports 100 percent of its diamonds, 53 percent of its uranium, 51 percent of its vanadium, 48 percent of its cobalt 47 percent of its chromium, 39 percent of its platinum and 38 percent of its petroleum from African countries.

6362

CSO: 4401

# NUCLEAR MISSILES CAUSING DISCORD IN NATO

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 19 Jul 80 p 2

[Editorial: "Ill Winds Blowing in NATO"]

[Text] An ill wind is blowing in NATO, stirring up discord in some of its member nations, and it will certainly come up in at least one other country. On the other side of the Atlantic, a president with limited diplomatic ability is writing messages "warning" the allies about the need to close ranks. The key question now preoccupying the NATO member states is the installation of a new generation of nuclear missiles; even before their actual placement on European territory, they have created a dangerous reversal in East-West relations.

The FRG magazine STERN printed the text of a letter from the President of the United States to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt "warning" him against any action or decision that might jeopardize the placement of the new Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Europe. Despite Bonn's formal denials regarding the allegedly "harsh" tone of the message, the letter certainly reveals that the Germans, seared by two devastating wars in this century, must have begun to think very seriously about the risk they run if they decide to sit down on such a powder keg. This is precisely the position of the English, who are seriously divided regarding this issue. The left wing of the Labor Party vigorously contests the installation of the new-generation missiles on English territory. The British have been assigned 160 cruise missiles. In addition, Ms Thatcher is seeking to modernize the British deterrent force, replacing the old Polaris missiles with new Trident intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Now the British Government will have to decide where the 160 U.S. missiles should be placed. The first to submit to Washington's dictates, the Conservative Government in London would also like to be the first to select the sites for the new weapons, but position statements of the Labor opposition appear to contradict these wishes. Three sites are being considered: the base at Lakenheath, in Suffolk (where the U.S. Air Force already has F-11 and A-10 bombers), Greenham Common (some 100 km from London) or Oxfordshire (80 km from the capital). In view of the broad

anti-missile movement in Great Britain, it is probable that this decision, contested in Parliament, will become the target of lively popular opposition, specifically by residents of the chosen areas.

The United States and NATO could also encounter opposition in Belgium, another country "chosen" to receive the new missiles. Incidentally, Joseph Luna, secretary general of NATO, has now "warned" the Belgian Government that the latter is not meeting its commitments to the organization, since the proposed budget cut of 1.7 billion francs implies among other things, that combat planes, ships, tanks and artillery will be taken out of action, that the number of air force pilots will be reduced and that Belgian forces will not take part in NATO maneuvers.

The Western European countries have increasingly well-founded reasons to withdraw from the NATO race to the abyss. The fact is that, three times between November 1979 and now, Pentagon computers have already "mistakenly" initiated a nuclear alert, activating several U.S. devices, ready to respond to a false Soviet nuclear attack.

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CSO: 4401

FRELIMO MESSAGE TO SANDINIST CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 19 Jul 80 p 1

[Text] The Central Committee of the FRELIMO Party, which began its seventh session the day before yesterday in Maputo, has sent a message of congratulations to the Central Committee of the Sandinist Front for the National Liberation of Nicaragua [FSLN], marking the first anniversary of the overthrow of the Somoza regime.

The message, the full text of which appears below, stresses the importance of the Nicaraguan revolution in its Latin American and international contexts and the role of the FSLN in the success of that revolution.

"The Central Committee of the FRELIMO Party warmly congratulates the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the heroic people of Nicaragua on the occasion of the first anniversary of the overthrow of the bloody Somoza dictatorship.

"The date 19 July symbolizes the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution, the fruit of the prolonged and courageous resistance of the Nicaraguan people against the adventurist and renegade nationals, faithful lackeys of the imperialist interests in the country.

"The victory over the Somoza regime demonstrates once again that when a united and organized people takes up arms under the proper leadership of its vanguard, it is invincible.

"Hence, 19 July is also a demonstration of the justice of the revolutionary line of the FSLN and of the clarity of its political leadership.

"Heir to the heroic traditions and teachings of August Cesar Sandino, immortal soldier, patriot and anti-imperialist, the FSNL knew how to organize the struggle of the Nicaraguan people and lead them to victory.

"Today, Nicaragua constitutes a secure rearguard of world revolution, in the struggle against the exploitation of men by men and in the stubborn

defense of the dignity and independence of the oppressed peoples of Latin America and the entire world.

"For this reason, the imperialists and their local lackeys have launched a series of threats and provocations to destabilize the political situation in Nicaragua and to sabotage the victories already achieved. Nonetheless, we are sure that under the enlightened leadership of the Sandinist Front, the Nicaraguan people will know how to counteract all the imperialist machinations.

"The Central Committee of the FRELIMO Party expresses its wishes for deeper and firmer relations of friendship and solidarity between the FRELIMO Party and the FSLN, between the Mozambican people and the people of Nicaragua, for the victory of socialism."

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CSO: 4401



## DIFFICULTIES IN AGRICULTURAL MARKETING CAMPAIGN

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Jul 80 pp 3, 8

[Excerpts] The delayed arrival of sacking in which to pack farm produce and the lack of trucks to distribute the latter to the various districts of Manica Province were among the problems that have held back the agricultural campaign to market surplus production in this large province.

The above-mentioned problems prevented the agricultural marketing campaign in the province from beginning on 2 May, as scheduled.

The information came from Jose Alexandre Canhore, director of the Provincial Office of Agricultural Marketing, during an interview granted to NOTICIAS.

The sacks were not only late in arriving; there were not enough of them. Of the 185,000 ordered, only 87,000 were received, and they were used up immediately. Since the shipment did not arrive until mid-May, it will not be possible to conclude the campaign on schedule.

The delay is also linked to the shortage of scales. The old scales distributed by the Provincial Agricultural Marketing Office last year were found to be damaged, and the 15 scales sent to complement the few functioning scales arrived late.

Meanwhile, the problem of the sacking is being overcome with the arrival of another shipment which is being unloaded at the Northern Mozambique Railways station in Lichinga.

### Campaign Initiated

Despite the delayed shipment of sacks, private merchants in the southern zone, Cuamba and Macanheles have already begun to market corn, while the districts in the northern zone, namely Lichinga, Sanga and Lago, have begun buying beans.

Of the four prefabricated warehouses allotted to the province, two have already been installed in Macanheles and Marrupa Districts, and the other two will be installed in Majune and Mandimba.

## Prospects

Since the provincial warehouse of REPECA now functioning does not have sufficient storage capacity to overcome the problems with the preservation of the produce, a warehouse capable of holding 4,000 tons of produce is already under construction next to the Northern Mozambique Railways station in Lichinga.

Some 12 million meticals have been allocated to expedite construction of this warehouse, which should be completed by the end of this year.

6362

CSO: 4401

## BRIEFS

BRITISH OFFICIAL'S VISIT--Derek Day, under secretary of foreign relations for the Commonwealth, left Mozambique yesterday after a 2-day visit to our country. Representing the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Day held discussions with Mozambican leaders regarding the situation in southern Africa and the status of relations between Mozambique and Great Britain. In statements to the Mozambican press, the under secretary said that during his 2 days here he had had an opportunity to meet with Joaquim Chissano, Mozambique's minister of foreign relations, with whom he discussed the current situation on the southern subcontinent. He emphasized Mozambique's role in the unfolding of events in the region, particularly in Zimbabwe. Day also called the current status of relations between Mozambique and Great Britain "satisfactory," and said that during the exchange of views, possible new areas of cooperation between the two states, as well as ways to strengthen existing cooperation were discussed. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Jul 80 p 1] 6362

CSO: 4401

## EVALUATION OF DMZ PROPOSALS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 04 Sep 80 p 5

[Text] The idea of a demilitarised zone on the border between SWA and Angola has given rise to a good many problems, both political and military, but the chances of a settlement in SWA would clearly improve should Angola succeed in pressurising Swapo into acceptance of a DMZ.

This is the view expressed by Dr Mike Hough, Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria in an article titled "DMZ proposals for SWA/Namibia" published by the magazine "African Insight," and of which an adapted version is repeated here.

The possibility of a DMZ along the SWA-Angolan border was initially raised by the late President Agostinho Neto of Angola, shortly before his death in July 1979.

His proposals followed the rejection by SA of the UN ceasefire plan in February 1979.

The first problem to be coped with in the possible implementation of a DMZ is the presence of Unita forces in southern Angola. Unita has indicated that it will not permit the establishment of a DMZ in southern Angola unless it is included at the highest level of consultation and it is now clear that a DMZ could not be established without Unita's co-operation.

The proposed DMZ covers a large area of territory which is not easy to monitor especially with limited personnel. It is an inhabited area where the identification of infiltrators would be a problem and retaliation against Swapo would be more difficult than in the past.

The main problem remains Swapo's unwillingness to accept a DMZ which does not favour it.

The proposed DMZ would consist of a zone 50 km wide on either side of the Angolan SWA border and cover a total area of some 140,000 square kilometers.

It would also include parts of south western Zambia and the entire Caprivi strip.

The suggestion is that the DMZ should become operative 14 days after the signing of a ceasefire agreement between Swapo and SA. Under the specifications for a DMZ, Swapo guerrillas would have two alternatives after the signing of a ceasefire: to lay down their arms under UN supervision and take part in an election, or to be removed by UNTAG to bases in Angola and Zambia, outside the DMZ.

The SA forces would provisionally be limited to five "selected areas" in SWA. The areas which have been suggested are Rundu, Katima Mulilo, Mpacha, Omega and Oshakati. Mr Sam Nujoma, President of Swapo, later mentioned a sixth base at Ruacana.

These areas and an adjacent area up to 5 KM wide would be exempted from demilitarisation. Similarly Sesheke in Zambia and Calais, Calucque and N'gira in Angola would be exempted, but these bases would be used by Angolan and Zambian military units only and are not to be used by Swapo.

The DMZ in Angola and Zambia would be monitored by the Angolan and Zambian Governments in co-operation with UNTAG and in SWA the DMZ would be monitored by units of the SA police in co-operation with UNTAG.

Within 12 weeks the SA troops would be reduced to 1 500 and limited to two bases at Grootfontein and Oshivello. However, no provision has been made for the monitoring of Swapo bases in Angola and Zambia outside the DMZ by UNTAG.

A task force of the UN was unable to enforce a DMZ between Saudi Arabia and Yemen in 1963 and also between North and South Vietnam after the French withdrawal from Indo China.

With regard to the situation in SWA, the question arises whether UNTAG would be able to enforce a DMZ and also whether the parties concerned would respect the agreement.

CSO: 4420

COUNCIL MEMBER: NAMIBIA HAS BLACK MAJORITY GOVERNMENT

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 3 Sep 80 p 2

[Text] **WINDHOEK:** Swapo purported to fight for majority rule in SWA but the Territory already had a Black majority government. Mr P Limbo, a member of the Ministers' Council said here yesterday.

Speaking during the national service debate in the National Assembly, Mr Limbo said this was clear from the composition of the Assembly. There were 50 members of whom only nine were Whites, he said.

"It seems to me that Swapo is fighting a losing battle. Mr Limbo added.

The MPLA Government in Angola claimed to have liberated the country, but all the top posts were in the hands of Cubans and Soviets in that country.

The Angolan Government had to submit to the will of these foreign communists and Cuba, which was a small

island, used Angola to deposit its superfluous population.

"Is this liberation?" he asked.

Many Southwesterners were being killed because of fighting in Swapo camps after the ousting of Mr Mishake Muyongo, the Swapo vice-president.

He asked what the international community was doing about the situation among opposing Swapo factions in Zambia.

He said the international community had not moved a finger to condemn the killing and detention of Southwest nationals in Zambia.

He appealed to the Secretary General of the UN, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to publicly condemn the killings in Zambia.

Some politicians in Africa claimed they wanted to liberate the Blacks from the Whites.

"But all they do is replace the Whites with other Whites who are communists," Mr Limbo said.

"The fruits of our country are there for all its people - its problems and defence as well," he said. He, therefore, fully supported national service for all races.

Also, taking part in the debate, a member of the Ministers' Council, Dr Ben Africa, said everything was not yet perfect in SWA but the Territory was quickly becoming a model state in Africa.

CSO: 4420



# VILJOEN LEAVES WINDHOEK FOR TALKS IN PRETORIA

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 8 Aug 80 pp 1, 2

[Text] The AG, Dr Gerrit Viljoen left Windhoek for Pretoria yesterday presumably for talks with the SA Government and the Dept of Foreign Affairs regarding the SA reply to the latest letter from Dr Kurt Waldheim on the SWA settlement negotiations.

A spokesman for the AG's office confirmed last night that Dr Viljoen had left for Pretoria but could not disclose any further information about the visit. Dr Viljoen is expected back in Windhoek at the weekend.

August 15 was the expiry date set by the UN for SA to reply to the Secretary General's letter on the latest settlement proposals. The main issue in Dr Waldheim's letter, release in New York on June 24, [as published] was that SA would be allowed only 20 bases on the SWA side of the demilitarised zone during the first 12 weeks of a ceasefire. At the same time SWAPO would only be allowed bases in Angola and Zambia. That was seen as a major breakthrough, for SWAPO remained adamant in the past about having bases in SWA.

Dr Waldheim's letter also stated that he regarded it as imperative that all parties concerned will be treated on an equal footing, although Resolution 435 made provision to deal only with the parties envisaged in the settlement proposal, viz SWAPO and SA.

Diplomatic sources abroad have indicated that there would be strong pressure from the Security Council should SA's reply look like a stalling tactic. It is generally expected that the Security Council would convene within a week if SA does not come up with a satisfactory reply and mention was even made of sanctions.

The Advertiser was told by an informed source that the feeling at the UN was that SA was not serious in its attempts to try and reach a settlement in SWA.

The recent announcement by the AG regarding an independent police force for SWA, the Advertiser was told that this was viewed in a very serious light and should the establishment of a SWA police

force change the structure of the political settlement "the deal was off."

Resolution 435 made provision for the SA Police Force to remain in control of law and order in the Territory during an election and transition period and the establishment of an independent SWA police force could very well be regarded by some parties as a deviation of Resolution 435.

VILJOEN HINTS AT AFRICA SOLUTION FOR SWA

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 23 Aug 80 p 1

[Text]

DURBAN — If sufficient progress were not made towards a South African / UN settlement in South West Africa, the solution to the conflict situation there might lie in discussion between this country and other African states without the UN, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, said in Durban last night.

Dr Viljoen spoke at the inaugural dinner of Africa 2000, an organisation based in Durban, "with no political ties or aspirations which aims for a peaceful

and prosperous Africa by the year 2000."

He said the answer to the SWA/Namibia question might be in negotiations with those African states "with the most direct interest in a resolution of the conflict situation."

Dr Viljoen added: "I am sure there would be a bigger chance of success in working out our differences if not with the UN, with fellow Africans who, like we, have a direct stake in settlement."

He appealed to Africa 2000 to support the territory in establishing schooling facilities, not only for children but to increase adult literacy for medical and nursing facilities and to help with community development and expansion in small industry.

However, he said, the country was not totally dependent on South Africa and of its annual budget, R520-million was generated by internal revenue with only R40-million coming from South Africa.

CSO: 4420

## CORRESPONDENT SUMMARIZES INTENSIFICATION OF ARMED STRUGGLE

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER (in English) Vol 80 p 25

[Text]

Military correspondents and their readers have become so used to what is said at regular army briefings and in Defence press releases, that in many instances they have become indifferent and, to an extent, even oblivious to the grim realities in South West Africa's war zone.

Earlier in the week Barry Streek of the Daily Dispatch, one of the newspapers associated with the Mail Africa Bureau and with which, in turn the Windhoek Observer has a news pool association, returned from the north.

Barry Streek said that for one who last visited the Ovambo-speaking areas of South West Africa five years ago, the transformation of the situation was shattering. "Indeed frightening", he said.

According to Streek, the

conflict in the northern areas of South West Africa has escalated into real war, with all its ghastly human toll.

**HAS INTENSIFIED**

Streek said that after his visit, he could arrive at no other conclusion than that the military situation has intensified, with more casualties on both sides, with more what are officially described as "incidents" and all the grim realities of armed conflict. The seasoned journalist observes that a regular publication of army releases on deaths and incidents in the war zone, and the details of raids on SWAPO bases in Angola, tend to blur the true nature of the war. He says that this is particularly the case for people like those in South Africa who are remote from the battle zone.

In a dispatch, Streek writes that while the possibilities of a political settlement of the conflict drag on in an apparently hopeless mire of negotiations, international manoeuvring and diplomatic leaks, the security situation in the area has deteriorated markedly.

edly.

In 1979, he writes in his dispatch, the number of incidents involving insurgents increased by 100 per cent over the previous year, according to General Jannie Geldenhuys, and landmine incidents increased by 105 per cent.

This year, he says in his dispatch, there were already 600 incidents, which again shows that the situation has intensified once again. Streek took note of the curfews at night, the guarded convoys, security controls and real fears of landmines.

**CONFIDENT THAT THE SITUATION CAN BE CONTAINED**

He correctly sums up the situation of armed struggle in which there was no declaration and nor was its scope conventional, but it is war. While the intensification and military confrontation is obvious and openly admitted, and while the trend seems likely to continue, the army is confident of containing the situation. Streek also correctly makes the point that, based on the figures of the numbers of guerrillas killed or captured, it is difficult to see how SWAPO

will be able to significantly extend its field of operations in the foreseeable future.

General Goldenshays estimated publicly earlier this year that there were 8 000 to 10 000 SWAPO members under training, but a figure of 15 000 has been speculated. Whatever the actual number, the focus of the war at this stage at least, seems to be confined to the northern areas.

#### THOSE RAMBLING POLITICIANS

Streek also questions the vagueness of some military communiques which in itself is functioning to convey a degree of insecurity. He writes that even if the army is able to contain the situation in the northern areas, it will not be able to do more than that, because the removal of the basic causes of the conflict is not in their hands. While the politicians in Windhoek continue to prolong their negotiations, and while they dilly-dally in their efforts to gain petty advantages, the war continues, taking its terrible toll. Young men, 20 per cent of them Black, will continue to spend at least two years of their lives in the dust and sand

trying to contain the situation. Other young men, all of them Black, convinced that violence is the only way to produce change, will try to make the job of the 20 per cent Blacks as difficult as possible. In particular, Streek goes on, they will make those Black people, who associate with the system of control, the targets of attack.

The horror stories, of which there are many, can be continued, but where is it all heading?

#### INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT THE ANSWER

It seems clear that unless there is an international settlement which is accepted by SWAPO, the South African government and the DTA, the war is going to continue. Hit-and-run attacks in other areas are also likely to continue sporadically.

If that is the case, Streek writes, and if the plan for national military service is implemented so that everyone will be liable for call-up, it seems inevitable that the war will intensify, because every male will be forced to make a decision of actively siding with one or the other group. According to some of Streek's sources, many will

leave the country as a result.

Clearly in these circumstances, he writes, any decision to maintain the status quo is hardly a desirable option. According to him, the only realistic way war can be ended is for South Africa and SWAPO to reach an accord, in terms of which an acceptable formula for elections can be found.

#### THE REAL RIDDLE

He writes that the danger for both sides - that being South Africa and the DTA - and possibly the main reason for the extensive procrastination in the negotiations, is that they will lose. But if SWAPO is in fact the majority party, this is surely a reality that has to be accepted -- and a reality that is preferable to the extension of a debilitating war. If SWAPO is not the majority party, then it is difficult to understand why there should be any fears in Pretoria about an election.

According to Mr Dirk Mudge, Streek writes, one can't have peace and elections with thousands of armed men around. He was referring to SWAPO, but his statement applies equally in regard to the presence of South African troops.

# MINISTERS' COUNCIL CALLS FOR END TO BLOODSHED IN SWAPO CAMPS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER In (42) Vol 5 Aug 80 p 3

[Text]

**WINDHOEK:** The SWA/Namibian Ministers' Council yesterday urgently requested the UN and other international organisations to stop the bloodshed in Swapo camps in Zambia as a result of the split in the organisation's leadership.

In a statement issued in Windhoek, the Council reiterated its invitation to the ousted vice-president of Swapo, Mr Mishake Muyongo, and his followers to return in peace to SWA/Namibia.

"We wish to point out that the amnesty offer still stands," the statement said. "They are invited to return in peace to their fatherland and help with important internal development (opbouwwerk)."

"We appeal urgently to the United Nations and other international organisations to take cognizance of the plight of these people," it said.

"These organisations are requested to take urgent steps to prevent the bloodshed in Zam-

bia by Swapo of SWA/Namibian nationality," the Council said.

The statement by the multi-racial Council said it was extremely concerned about the fate of SWA/Namibian nationals who were apparently being subjected to large-scale atrocities within Swapo after Mr Muyongo and other leaders had been ousted.

The Council said it had not confirmed reports that fighting had broken out between the Kwanyama tribe (of which the Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, is a member) and the Capriviian Subiya tribe within Swapo.

It was evident that tribal differences within Swapo were out of control.

The statement said the Ministers' Council had information that the situation within Swapo might further deteriorate in due course.

"People who are still holding important positions within Swapo organising a rebellion against the leadership

of Sam Nujoma," the Council said.

"Our information is that at least 50 Swapo terrorists have deserted from Swapo camps in the past few days."

"According to information from Botswana the Swapo deserters are being held against their will in Zambia but we do not know what their fate is," the statement said.

The ministers said Mr Muyongo was reportedly making secret plans to return to SWA/Namibia.

If he and his followers returned to the Territory they would find the situation "free of the kind of racism prevalent in Swapo."

They said it was significant that these developments with Swapo were taking place while Mr Nujoma was in Moscow.

It was not clear, they said, if Mr Nujoma had gone to "fetch new instructions in Moscow" or to replenish arms and ammunition recently destroyed in Angola by the security forces. — Sapa

# SWAPO WILL PARTICIPATE IN MEETING

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 23 Aug 80 p 10

[Text]

**PARIS:** An international conference, at which SWAPO will be the main participant, will meet here from September 11 to September 13. It is being convened with a view to mobilise international support all around the world for the movement.

Virtually the entire SWAPO Central Committee, led by the movement's President, Mr Sam Nujoma, will attend the conference. The theme of the congress is to enlist increased support, and an agenda has been drawn up. The conference is to precede the 33rd General Assembly meeting of the United Nations. Various internationally known personalities will attend the conference such as the former

prime minister of Sweden and the leader of the Swedish Socialist Party.

The conference will take place in the UNESCO headquarters in this city.

There will be many delegates from Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas. Also in attendance will be delegates of Nationalist and Liberation movements and Trade Unions.

One of the more colourful personalities to attend will be the aged Mr Sean Briede, former Commissioner of the United Nations for South West Africa, who was later succeeded by Mr Martti Ahtisaari. A large number of Foreign Affairs Ministers of various countries will also be in attendance.

CSO: 4420



# K3 MILLION ALLEGEDLY PUMPED INTO SWAPO'S DEFENCE

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA (in English) (18 Aug 80) p. 1

[Text]

**SOUTH** Africa is now pumping more than K3 million into Namibia's defence system every day to contain the advancing people's liberation army of SWAPO.

SWAPO treasurer-general and chief spokesman in Zambia, Mr Lucas Pohamba, said this at the 14th anniversary of the armed struggle in Namibia held at the Evelyn Hone College in Lusaka on Tuesday.

He said freedom fighters were now tying down the 70,000 South African troops in the disputed territory.

Mr Pohamba told more than 1,000 people including chairman of the Social and Cultural Sub-Committee of the Central Committee, Mr Elijan Mudeenda, and representatives of ANC of South Africa that this was because of the ability of SWAPO to deepen and broaden its struggle in Namibia.

The plan involved advancement into Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Otjwarongo in Namibia. It forced white farmers to live in hotels in towns.

The farmers left management of the farms to less experienced African workers.

Mr Pohamba said it was because of the guerrilla successes that the South African backed legislative assembly in Windhoek had recently proposed the creation of "protected villages" in Namibia.

Such villages were tried in Vietnam and Zimbabwe but they did not help imperialists and their lackeys from ultimate defeat. "In Namibia too, the story will be the same," he added.

## Aware

Mr Pohamba said the South African regime was aware that its puppets in Namibia would not win under the UN-supervised and controlled elections as was the case in Zimbabwe.

"In order to run away from this inevitability, the racists are resisting the implementation of the UN plan which was worked out after three years of intensive negotiation," he said.

Because of this resistance SWAPO was confident of winning a people's war.

The heroic feats of the ANC of South Africa's guerrillas, especially that of the Sasol oil plant, were a source of encouragement to SWAPO, he said.

SWAPO owed President Kaunda, UNIP and its Government and the people of Zambia much for their selflessness and unrelenting support in SWAPO's just struggle for liberation.

And Mr Mudenda called for a speedy solution to the Southern African problems to avert possible racial and ideological conflicts in the region.

He said that ideological conflict would continue and would intensify in Zimbabwe and Zambia if a solution was not found quickly.

He reiterated Zambia's unflinching support and solidarity with SWAPO.

In Dar es Salaam, Organisation of African Unity liberation committee assistant secretary Laban Oyaka pledged Africa's support for the liberation struggle.

Mr Oyaka, speaking at a SWAPO rally, called for increased efforts to liberate the South African-administered territory.

The liberation of Africa was the responsibility of African countries, but Africa could not have arrived where it was without the help and support of friendly countries, he added.

In Cairo, representatives of international political organisations have commended Zambia's continued support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

Representatives of the Afro-Asian solidarity organisation, diplomatic corps, Egyptian government and SWAPO commended Zambia's commitment to the liberation move-

ments at a similar ceremony.

Chief SWAPO representative in Cairo, Mr John Mandongo, said Zambia's stand on the liberation movements had remained unshaken despite indiscriminate killings of its people and the destruction of property by the racist regime.

In Johannesburg, commentators from both ends of South Africa's white political spectrum agreed that the latest cabinet reshuffle would mean greater personal rule by Prime Minister Pieter Botha in his search for change.

After Mr Botha named several moderates to his new cabinet, the normally pro-government newspaper the *Citizen* commented: "What happens now is very much what he wants it to be."

And the liberal anti-apartheid *Rand Daily Mail* said: "We are into an age of greatly increased direct rule by the Botha cabinet and its committees."

But Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the committee of unofficial but influential community leaders in Soweto said although the new cabinet showed a slight leftward move "it is meaningless in relation to what blacks received as meaningful change". — Times Reporter/Zana/Reuter.

## NAMIBIA

### BLACK NATIONALIST DREAMS MOVING CLOSER TO SWAPO

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 4 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Max du Preez: "Patriotic Front Type Coalition Developing in Southwest Africa Politics"]

[Text] Windhoek--it appears that Southwest Africa is experiencing a serious polarisation in Black politics which in the foreseeable future can result into a sort of Patriotic Front coalition between the nationalist parties and SWAPO.

The Southwest Africa National Union (SWANU), one of the leading parties of the Namibia National Front (NNF) which refers to itself as the oldest liberation movement in Southwest Africa, is already moving in that direction at a fast pace to become (as DIE BURGER was told) the "Nkomo wing" of SWAPO. At least two other member parties of the NNF the National Independent Party (NOP) and the Damara Council are talking about the same possibility.

SWANU is now working hard to build a basis of conditions exactly for this purpose by forming its own terrorist force and by becoming almost more radical in its policy than SWAPO.

### Recruits

According to security spokesmen, about 150 young SWANU recruits have already illegally crossed the border with Botswana and are waiting in a camp in Francistown to be taken to a country which is willing to train them as terrorists. SWANU's top leaders have negotiated with Libya and China on more than one occasion in this respect. (SWAPO is getting support from the USSR and East Germany).

A senior NNF leader from SWANU summed up the situation to DIE BURGER as follows: "Our position in the middle is now beginning to be an impossible one. If we go by the way Namibian militias are now developing there will simply not be a role for us to play.

"Since the Turnhalle-Council, the NNF and the other parties have been able to do absolutely nothing. The People of Namibia want to become free and

independent and there are only two organizations which can accomplish this: SWAPO and the DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance]. With today's frustrations and confused politics, there is room for only these two extremes.

#### Relevant

"As a politician and leader of my people I will have to decide for myself where I am going and if I am no longer a relevant figure in the center. Despite my objections to SWAPO I can tell you that I know that I will never go along with the DTA.

"The time to choose and to stand up to be counted is now here. It is of no use for us to run to the side of SWAPO if it is about to win, or has already won, the election. The only way we can play a role in SWAPO is to throw our strength there now."

#### Pressure Group

Not one of the nationalist leaders of the center with whom DIE BURGERS spoke has any illusion about SWAPO's domination of the Ovambos and the low accent on democracy, although none of them believe that SWAPO is actually a communist organization.

"If I have to choose between Ovambo domination in SWAPO and white domination in the DTA, I will be choosing Ovambo domination. Of course, the ideal thing is that there not be any ethnic domination and that democracy be the highest principle. This is the reason why perhaps the time has come for us to become a pressure group within SWAPO." This is the statement made by another leader.

#### 'Wooing'

The objections against the DTA are due mainly to the alliance's close ties with South Africa and its government, the DTA's inability to do much in its National Assembly and Ministerial Council to improve the lot of the common man, the DTA's impotence in getting rid of discrimination effectively and at all levels, the DTA's "wooing" of rightist whites, the "weak quality" of the DTA leaders and the DTA's "exaggerated" emphasis on ethnicity which requires that each of the 11 national groups should, for example, have a representative in the Ministerial Council regardless of the merits and abilities of the representative.

Another great objection against the DTA by the black nationalists is that the DTA "and South Africa are delaying the UN's settlement plan for an election and independence while the people are yearning for independence and the end of the war."

#### Robben Island

A strongly worded statement by the NNP to the effect that Security Council resolution 435 should be applied without any more fussing is expected this week.

In the course of a gathering of about 1,000 persons at Katatura this past week, SWANU gave further indications as to the direction it is taking. SWANU's chairman, Gerson Vell, who was imprisoned at Robben Island for about 2 years, demanded that the people of the Southwest must refuse to do military service such as Administrator General Gerrit Viljoen has proposed. Vell stated that the Southwesterners are now expected to fight against "their own brothers" (SWAPO's terrorists) while SWAPO's fighters have already shed much blood in the attempt to liberate the country.

7964

CSO: 4408

# PREVENTIVE MEASURES AGAINST SWAPO'S ATTACKS ON POWER STATION

Capetown DIE BURGER in Africaans 2 Aug 80 p 3

[Text] Pretoria--SWAPO will be getting its fingers burned if in the future it tries to sabotage the electrical power network of the highly important Ruacana power station.

Southwest Africa's security forces have thought of a way of protecting the network which has the potential of supplying power to most of the Southwest. After repeated sabotage of the network, the power station is now of very little value.

Not much is being said at this stage about what the countermeasures are going to be. Perhaps SWAPO will try once more and then it will find out that it has gotten hurt. This was the warning given by a senior officer in the Southwest.

The modern power station at the westernmost portion of the power line with Angola has the capability of providing 160 megawatts of power to Southwest Africa's WEK; However when the press visited the power station early this week it was producing only 1/20th of its capacity and to be sure only for the town of Ruacana.

For the past 2 years, Ruacana and its surroundings has been the part of Southwest Africa which has lived through the worst of SWAPO's attacks. The power line has been sabotaged repeatedly and the channel system which must provide water from Caluque to Ovambo is still dry.

The thing being considered in order to provide irrigation water to Ovambo is building an extra pipeline at the cost of 9 million rand at least to provide drinking water for the region.

Last year SWAPO was responsible for 40 attacks in the region and among other things this involved the laying of land mines, kidnappings, intimidation, murder, etc. So far this year there have been 40 instances of this nature.



Killed.

These attacks reached a high point last Sunday morning with the mortar attack on the town of Ruacana where the military base is located. There was little damage to the buildings and at the base six servicemen were slightly wounded. One of the 40 or so mortar fired exploded in the bar of the base.

For this reason, this week's success by the security forces in killing 27 terrorists in pursuit actions is of special significance.

The security forces had information which indicated that the mortar attack on Ruacana had been planned in Angola even before last month's Operation Smokeshell and that SWAPO had supplied weapons to its terrorists for this purpose.

Attacking Ruacana was supposed to have helped to demonstrate that SWAPO is in condition to retaliate and this can mean much in rebuilding the morale of its soldiers just at a time when this was very necessary for them.

This is also supposed to show that SWAPO is able to reorganise its forces after Smokeshell, but this must have created the wrong picture of the real situation.

1964

CSO: 4408

SWANU SEEKING LIBYAN AND CHINESE TERRORIST TRAINING

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 29 Jul 80 p 3

[Text] Windhoek--The Southwest Africa National Union (SWANU) has now started in earnest to smuggle terrorist recruits from Southwest Africa for training abroad. At least 85 young SWANU members have illegally crossed the border with Botswana during the past 4 months.

SWANU, one of the strong member parties of the Namibia National Front, has recently moved strongly to the left and its leaders have frequently spoken about an armed struggle as the only alternative for slow, dragging international settlement.

According to DIE BURGER's information, SWANU's leaders have recently been in contact with prominent Libyan and Chinese personalities and there is talk that they have even been in touch with Col Muhammad Ghadafi, Libya's leader.

The young SWANU recruits are now staying in Francistown. SWANU leaders under the leadership of their chief, Gerson Veii, are believed to be going to Gaborone soon to negotiate with Quett Masire's government about the recruits. According to available information, the Botswana government is not happy about its territory being used as a transit location for terrorists now that its problems with the Zimbabwean war are over. The SWANU delegation will also be going to other African nations to ask for help.

Two of the recruits in Francistown who are very well known here are Veii's son, Gerson Veii Jr, and Willie Kusch, a senior NNF youth leader. Kusch is supposedly the leader of the group of recruits.

Yesterday DIE BURGER learned that so far SWANU has not had much success in its efforts to get someone to train and support its military wing. Countries doing this sort of thing are already doing this for SWAPO. SWANU and SWAPO are not the greatest of friends, because SWANU is predominantly an Herero organization and SWAPO is a Wambo organization. However SWANU has

had good ties with Red China all the time and the recent contact with the Libyans is not the first.

Comrade

SWANU's biggest problem is going to be the establishment of bases. Angola and Zambia are out of the question, because SWAPO is using these two countries as springboards. Botswana will not easily allow terrorist bases in its territory and moreover the terrain on the border between Botswana and the Southwest does not render this possible.

Yesterday an NNF youth leader, a certain Willibad Kandjinomuini, was given a 1,000-rand fine or a 1-year jail term by the magistrates court of Gobabis, because on the night of 10 July he helped 10 SWANU youth members cross the border illegally. His comrade, Albert Kanguatjivi, testified against him as a state witness saying that the 10 recruits were diverted to the vicinity of Buitepos in the area of Gobabis and from this place they crossed the border. Half of Kandjinomuini's sentence was suspended for 3 years.

7964

CSO: 4408

# APPRAISAL OF NEW ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 04 Sep 80 p 1

[Editorial in column "Comment"]

[Text]

To many the appointment of Mr Danie Hough as the new AG would seem the appointment of an unknown.

That may be so locally, but Southwesterners have no need to fear the man: he has all the attributes to fulfil the role aptly.

These are some of the attributes:

- He is an excellent administrator and is known to be a hard worker;
- He is an expert on local government and legal/financial affairs. He has handled these matters with the utmost competence in the Transvaal;
- He is known to be an objective politician and is

well-liked by both sides of the House in the Transvaal Provincial Council;

● He is extremely approachable as a person and never becomes hysterical in discussion or debate;

● He is well-educated (an attorney) and is a successful businessman and farmer;

● And he has for some time been earmarked for higher things. At one stage it was thought that he would take over as leader of the House in the Provincial Council from Mr Dawid van der Merwe Brink; at another stage it was thought that he would be the next Administrator of the Transvaal.

It now seems that he will probably follow Dr Gerrit Louren along the SWA road to the SA Cabinet.

It is indeed inconceivable that PM Piet Botha would ask Danie Hough to give up everything he has risen to in the Transvaal merely for the purpose of a short sojourn north of the Orange.

This newspaper wishes Mr Hough well in his new post and we hope that he will carry on the valuable work of his predecessors.

The challenge is a great one, perhaps one of the most intricate in international politics today, and will have a strong bearing on the stability of both SWA and Southern Africa at large.

Mr Hough will be taxed to the full.

# NAMIBIA--THE LAST DOMINO

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES 17 Aug 80 p 15

[Text]

“SWAPO I can live with. After all, the whites are living with that fellow in Rhodesia — Mugabe? One thing I'm not doing is going to Jo'burg.”

PERCEPTIONS differ from country to country in Southern Africa.

The tough boutique manageress expressing her determination to stay in Namibia has her counterpart in Salisbury.

Majority rule isn't too bad close up. The relative success of the Mugabe government is already having an impact in Windhoek and the prospect of Sam Nujoma coming to power is now counted as a probability, not a possibility.

Up north where the army attably conducts visitors on sight-seeing trips the dry “culling” season as it is sometimes colloquially referred to (an expression borrowed from the Rhodesians), was in full swing.

Reeling off “kill-rate” statistics with the cold detachment of briefing officers the world over, an army spokesman described the recent destruction of the Swapo HQ in Angola.

A journalist friend who attended the operation told me privately that the Swapo dead, like the South African dead, were mere boys, 14 or 18 years old.

The problem is that kill-rates are deceptive. In the case of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), the force level has remained static at about 7 000 for the last three years.

Swapo apparently makes up many of its losses from the half-million Ovambo tribesmen who live on the Angolan side of the border. And while it can be argued that this shows Swapo has difficulty recruiting in Ovamboland it is still a virtually bottomless well of reservists.

While the kill-rate ratio is ostensibly in the security forces' favour it is not necessarily in the white man's favour. Unlike Rhodesia, most South African troops killed in action are white.

There is an inevitable sense of withdrawal up there on that distant and hostile frontier. War is tough and tougher still if there is uncertainty about the cause.

Nobody talks of winning as such. The army's only official *raison d'être* is to maintain sufficient stability in the border area to allow the politicians to do what they think is right.

A forgotten war to much of booming South Africa that costs millions a year, one wonders whether a Vietnam syndrome will one day begin to bite. Where are the welcoming flags for those “coming home”?

The towns on the border, with evocative-sounding names like Oshikau, Rundu, Kauma Mulilo, have minuscule white populations. Virtually everybody works for the Government in some public service, police or army capacity.

## Hamlets

Nothing more dramatically underscores the fact that South Africa is a foreign presence than a tour of these hamlets — some of which are logistically almost as far from Pretoria as Portugal's African colonies were from Lisbon.

If the "bure" should pull out, every town along the northern Namibian border will virtually become black overnight, emphasising the disjunct whiteness of the giant mineral-rich territory.

There are fewer than 100 000 white souls at present. Probably, fewer than 60 000 would remain after independence.

While the politicians squabble among themselves in Windhoek, the army spends almost as much energy on a "hearts-and-minds" programme in the operational area as it does fighting.

This investment in education and agricultural training programmes is very real, and one wonders to what extent the prospect of "giving it all up" one day must influence the perceptions of the military.

The neatly tilled irrigation schemes, the schoolrooms, the black youth movement in the Karango with its own flag, the wonderful Durrell-like zoo at Rundu — all are the creation of the army.

There is a feeling that people mustn't be left in the lurch, that there must be progress, medical care and development, but sadly one suspects it will matter very little when the South Africans go.

Mother Africa will simply take over and obliterate the tracks of the soldier administrators as it has wiped out the presence of other foreign armies since time immemorial.

One place where it will matter though is Camp Omega, home of the much-publicised Bushman Battalion, the "Crows of the Caprivi".

Here the army has brought together several thousand Bushmen and their womenfolk, most originally refugees from Angola.

Their ancient bush craft is employed in the service of a modern war. But theirs is the cause of desperation — kill or be killed.

Little patriotism here, merely the stimulus of the refugee doing a job in return for food and pay.

Omega's objective is the "achievement" of Bushmen. They are taught Western ways for reasons of hygiene and community living.

Anticipating criticism, an officer says:

"No, we are not destroying the noble savage. The Bushmen were exterminated by disease. You haven't seen them when they come out of the bush."

## Bloodied

And yet, when all is said and done, the Bushmen are being alienated from their nomadic ways, their tricks of bush survival.

What will happen to them when Pretoria goes? Whose is the responsibility for this unique little army?

Under a DTA government they would presumably be safe. But would Nujoma, if he should come to power — feed them, pay them? One doubts it somehow, and recognises a potential tragedy in the making.

But if people may be talking about a South African withdrawal elsewhere, there is no sign of it in the east. Digging in is the operative word.

Katimo Mulilo gives every impression of steadfast resolution, with bomb shelters in every backyard and a massive security fence under construction around the settlement.

A veritable Caprivi Mafeking that has already been bloodied by mortar fire.

Here, too, one gets a sense of the explosive international potential of this war, with Zambia just across the border.

Almost secondary to the war now, however, are Pretoria's increasingly urgent attempts to retain South African influence in the post-independence period.

Africans think South Africa fears an independent government in Windhoek more than a leftist one, and point to Samora Machel's and Mugabe's pragmatism over ideology approach. Both were leftist, but the Administrator-General, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, pox-poos parallels with Zimbabwe.

And yet one wonders whether the simple truth of the Zimbabwean election isn't that the colonial presence and its proxies will be decisively rejected when the people are finally allowed a voice.



Jonathan Steele writes in *The Guardian* that the business community in Windhoek has come to terms with what it sees as historically inevitable.

Once again, it says, the Afrikaners are deluding themselves by confusing black nationalism with communism, by minimising legitimate grievances on the grounds that they are being exploited by extremists, and by exaggerating the relevance of ethnicity in the self-deluding hope that different groups of Africans would rather confront each other than collectively confront the white man.

And, epitomised by the seven black rearguard battalions, ethnicity is alive and well in Namibia.

These are professional soldiers, professionally paid. Conscription does not exist in Namibia. Nor does there seem to be any indigenous rush to volunteer for the security forces.

Defecting Swapo fighters are not exactly swelling security force ranks either. So the professionals salute the colours in defence of — what?

This question is the nub.

Andre du Pisani, of the University of South Africa, argues that the policy of Pretoria is to allow for maximum internal institutional development during the transitional process in Namibia by means of the DTA-dominated National Assembly and the Council of Ministers does not resolve the deeper problem of dependence and erosion of legitimacy.

On the contrary he says, it is seen by a growing number of Namibians as a means of consolidating the fragmentary DTA both in terms of its internal structure and the shrinking power base of the movement.

The shortcomings of the incumbent political elite, enhance the alternative of a total revolutionary transformation and the DTA, moreover, lacks historical, ideological and charismatic sources of legitimacy.

The 'fatal flaw' that Pretoria has made, however, is to define the terms of the conflict in ideological terms (democracy vs Marxism) which virtually ensures that the moderates are bound to be losers by definition unless they can deliver the economic and political goods the people want.

Du Pisani says a legitimate (Africanised) bureaucracy and a drastic alleviation of black unemployment (running at a rate of 25 per cent) are, therefore, immediate priorities.

But South Africa hasn't the time to tackle these priorities. International pressures for a settlement are mounting and valuable years have been wasted trying to patch up the differences between the whites, let alone the blacks. Her, ergo, Damarras and all the others.

The National Assembly has only recently been given the teeth it needs to start a social programme to win it some popular support but at least four years are required to accomplish anything meaningful.

The time span of an average African development plan

There is little doubt in most observers' minds now that Swapo would win an election held tomorrow. Also, that every additional day South Africa remains in the territory means another 20 votes for Sam Nujoma. If only because he will profit from the record of a frankly racial system that encouraged divisionist tribalism, resentment and low wages.

## Conflict

Not everybody in Namibia sees the conflict in straightforward ideological terms either, and there are many who would agree with Lord Caradon, former Minister of State at the British Foreign Office, that few people who know Nujoma well would describe him as a Marxist.

What will be the legacy of the decades when Namibia was the virtual fifth province of South Africa? Deserted ghost towns on the border, a resentful minute white population and a hostile and bitter black government in Windhoek?

Or will Pretoria stay on until it is convinced the DTA will win a UN-supervised election? Perhaps at great cost internationally to South Africa.

After Zimbabwe, people wonder what is holding up the logical progression of black rule in Namibia. But Namibia is South Africa's last psychological domino, not to be toppled quite yet.

It also looks increasingly like an albatross — a moulting albatross with exposed flanks, dangerously vulnerable.

## COUNTRY FACES MEAT SHORTAGES

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 04 Sep 80 p 4

[Excerpt]

**THE RECENT** sharp rise in meat prices is the direct result of a shortage of supply from the producers, and can be expected to last for the next few months at least.

This was told to the Advertiser by the Manager of the Meat Board, Mr Horst Kreft.

The shortage of supply has resulted in the hike of producers' prices across the board, and has logically been passed on to the consumer.

The reason for the shortage is attributable to the previous few drought seasons, the effects of which found reflection in this year in emergency marketing measures.

This means that the farmers are now fetching reasonable prices for their stock.

Since stock levels on the farm are now low, producers are holding onto stock in order to breed.

It was always the case, explained Mr Kreft, that during seasons with good rainfall, producers' prices rose because breeding was placed ahead of marketing amongst the farmers' priorities.

It was essentially therefore a cyclical occurrence, he said.

These cycles last for about three to four and even up to five years at a stretch.

Mr Kreft ventured a prediction that the shortage would last out another two years, while farmers were making up their stocks through breeding.

It should also be borne in mind, Mr Kreft said, that meat price increases occurred at short notice, unlike most other commodities, which generally showed a gradual increment in consumer prices.

On the other hand, all consumer items were presently undergoing price increases.

Mr Kreft requested farmers not to hold onto their stock unnecessarily in the light of the possible temporary closure of the Otavi abattoir on September 12 because of the current meat shortage.

If the factory had to close, it would result in a loss of turnover leading in turn to less trading money on re-opening. This would then affect producers adversely in the future.

Farmers should try their best therefore to lend support to factories during the current shortage.

Floor prices are adjusted weekly in SWA.

# INCENTIVES USED TO KEEP PUBLIC SERVANTS IN COUNTRY

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 2 Sep 80 p 5

[Text]

**PUBLIC SERVANTS** joining the SWA/Namibian public service would immediately receive an increase of two notches in their salaries Mr Dirk Mudge, Chairman of the Ministers Council said in the National Assembly

Mr Mudge expressed appreciation for the service and contribution the public servants have made to SWA. He said he was of the opinion that the public servants did not merely perform their duties for material gain and expressed the hope that they would stay on in the country. Mr Mudge stressed that all possible measures would be taken to ensure fair guarantees with regard to conditions of service and their careers in SWA.

Many public servants ap-

peared to be anxious about the security situation, Mr Mudge said, but SWA was probably one of the safest countries in the world to live in, in spite of the war on the border.

He said the SA Government had given the assurance that it would protect the Territory and people of SWA until a peaceful settlement had been reached.

Rumours that SWA was politically unstable was nothing but political propaganda, Mr Mudge said.

Despite the fact that measures have been taken to inform public servants of the changes being brought about by the new dispensation a great degree of uncertainty and ignorance still existed, he said and urged the public servants to satisfy themselves about the facts by contacting the Central Personnel Institution in Windhoek.

CSO: 4420

COMMISSION ACT ALSO APPLIES IN COUNTRY

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 2 Sep 80 p 5

[Text]

**THE COMMISSION** appointed in SWA by the Administrator General will have full powers in terms of a proclamation issued by the State President of SA in today's Government Gazette.

The proclamation is to make the Commission Act 1947 (Act 8 1947) applicable in the Territory. It will also be published in today's Official Gazette.

It was decided that the stipulations of the Commission Act be applicable here in order to give commissions appointed by the AG legal authority and wider powers -

for example to have sittings in the Republic to hear evidence, or to summons witnesses who live in SA to give evidence here, and to be in a position to act against such a witness, either here or in SA if a summons from the commission was ignored or held in contempt.

A proclamation issued by the AG, as well as an Act passed by the National Assembly is only applicable within the Territory's borders. For this reason the Ministers' Council approached the State President to issue a proclamation in terms of the authority vested in him by Article 38 of the Act on the Constitution of SWA 1968.

CSO: 4420

# NAMIBIAN YOUTHS IN REFUGEE CAMPS IN BOTSWANA

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 23 Aug 80 p 16

[Text]

**WINDHOEK:** In a talk to Mr Gordon Veil, the leader of the S.W.A. National Union who visited Botswana very recently, it transpired that a substantial number of youths from South West Africa are currently housed in the United Nations refugee camp in the neighbouring state.

Mr Veil said he would not like to disclose the name of the locality where the United Nations refugee camp is situated. He found on his visit there last week a group of about one hundred youths from South West Africa. It was a mixed group consisting of boys and girls who had left the country. He gained the impression, Mr Veil said, that these children were desirous of a higher and better education. On a question of whether some of them were also planning to undergo

military training, he dismissed the suggestion by shaking his head.

In the camp were also housed, Mr Veil said, members of the African National Congress, and there were even a few members of the Patriotic Front.

In response to further questions, Mr Veil said it was undeniably the case that the black youth of South West Africa was, in an increasing manner, showing hostility and resistance to the order of the day.

The recent announcement, he added which suggested compulsory military training for all in South West Africa, had prompted an exodus amongst the youth. Most of the youth were not inclined to support compulsory conscription.

CSO: 4420

# VIOLENCE POSSIBLE AT HERERO COMMEMORATION SERVICES

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 23 Aug 80 p 8

[Text]

**WINDHOEK:** Katutura residents have been requested to stay away from commemoration services over the weekend, and particularly tomorrow (Sunday), to be held by the so-called Red Flag faction of the Herero-speaking people, namely NUDO, led by the leader of the Herero faction in the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Kuaimo Ri ruako.

Swanu member and Secretary for Publicity and Information of the NNF, Mr Reinhard Rukoro, said when approached that Swanu supporters had been asked to stay away, in the event of trouble taking place. Swapo supporters too, and particularly residents of the Ovambo hostel, have been asked to stay off the streets.

In Katutura the talk is that certain members of Nudo have been armed, and there are worries that the commemoration day will take the form of a 'witch hunt' for members of Swapo and Swanu, with whom Nudo is

at loggerheads.

According to Herero-speaking people, the day is one which was traditionally a commemoration day for the Hereros who had fallen in the wars with the Germans. It took the form of a national day, until various splits came about within the Herero ranks. The day has now become one which is solely celebrated by the NUDO faction of the Hereros, and has become greatly politicised. The commemoration services usually take the form of a march to Okahandja where most of the fallen Herero chiefs are buried.

Residents of the town have also expressed the hope that Police will be keeping a watchful eye on the proceedings, since commemoration of this day usually heralds trouble or friction between the various groups, in one form or another.

CSO: 4420



## REASONS CITED FOR LOW LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER 13 July 1980 9 Aug 80 p 11

[Text]

**THE EXPANSION** of local manufacture from raw materials forms the vital course along which planning should be steered if SWA is to develop along the road to economic stability and growth.

Local manufacture not only implies higher export earnings through product diversification and import substitution. Alongside the primary extractive sectors — mining and agriculture — manufacture is also the sector capable of absorbing the largest fraction of unemployed manpower in the country.

A high rate of unemployment and a superfluity of unskilled labour are two edges of the same pyramid. The third edge is that of excessively low productivity levels.

Thus three-sided obstacle constitutes the most serious restraint limiting economic growth, particularly manufacture, in SWA.

Manufacture not only requires inputs of relatively skilled labour, but these inputs must of necessity be utilised with their maximum degrees of productivity.

In a previous article in this

newspaper, some of the obstacles to raising productivity levels in SWA were mentioned. These are:

- alienation and all its ramifications such as lack of motivation and responsibility and absenteeism
- poor housing and health services
- illiteracy and inadequate training facilities and
- unsound management-labour relations.

There are a number of further considerations to manpower productivity in SWA.

#### TRADE UNIONS

Another important causative factor underlying the problems outlined thus far is the absence of responsible trade union organisation amongst the Black workforce.

The argument that these institutions are inevitably motivated by communist aspirations is invalid. Those who are familiar with the history of White trade unionism in SA during the earlier parts of this century, know that these institutions won the day for the free enterprise system in SA and continue to do so today.

There is no rational argument that can justify the fear

of communist upsurings that would result from the extension of trade unionism to all sectors of the labour force.

In fact, therein lies the strongest bulwark possible against the emergence of communist-led trade unions — a realisation which the DTA — dominated government has come to in recent months.

An advantage of the establishment of trade unions along existing ethnic lines would be the harnessing of the cultural collectivity of the traditional African values within the industrial situation.

On these grounds, such institutions would serve as the ideal vehicle for transmitting modern value systems necessary for aligning the bulk of the labour force with the profit-oriented production process.

In addition, specialised trade unions would be ideally suited for the purposes of implementing manpower training programmes that are directly related to the economy's specific needs by incorporating within them the functions of recruitment, selection, training and placement.

Thirdly, these unions would be in a position to support the African labour force during its

period of transition and inevitable dislocation. This would result from the erosion of traditional cultural value systems in the face of individualistic, profit-oriented training.

### HIGH TURNOVER

Both the system of voluntary migration as well as the contract labour system are responsible for the high turnover of labour in SWA. Workers in the urban centres have been regarded, for all intents and purposes as temporary sojourners, until very recently, in actual practice, the social after effects of their sojourn will still linger for a long time. The housing backlog contributes its share in this regard.

Allied to the contract labour system and its accompanying salient features such as anti-social hostels, poor food, health and other social amenities, is the entire question of labour legislation in the Territory.

There exists no legislation guaranteeing a minimum wage, none providing for cumulative wage increases with lengthy service periods, no pensions, paid annual leave or sick leave benefits.

These are glaring shortcomings in the existing labour situation which are the preconditions for creating a fully-fledged modern labour force.

Unemployment itself contributes directly to the high labour turnover by reinforcing management's hand in executing its notorious 'hire and fire' policy in Windhoek.

For those who are not familiar with this widespread practice, 'hire and fire' refers to the tendency for employers to recruit workers from the ranks of the unemployed for short-term production runs of tender projects, and then to

lay these workers off at short notice or without any notice at all, either when they are no longer needed, or as a form of retribution for laziness, if *that* is the case.

For the private sector, this practice must obviously be seen in the light of the seasonal nature of agricultural production cycles and the fluctuating demand for labour on short-term contracts such as all projects or construction work.

In addition, the Government's role in limiting long-term employment opportunities in the private sector by awarding short-term tender contracts to employers should not be overlooked.

The absence of any suitable legislation aimed at stabilising the labour force in the face of these typical production patterns however, can be laid at the feet of State.

One can understand that any employer cannot keep supplementary labour contingents on the payroll after completing a certain tender contract, or when the stock no longer runs. This is un-economic.

But under the prevailing system of labour legislation temporary and even long-term workers are laid off with no reference or record that reflects their past performance or acquired skills, no matter on what level, these may be.

There is of course a popular explanation for this feature in our labour economy. Without a record of a worker's previous job experience to merit his bargaining position as a job-seeker, the prospective employer can happily do for nothing more than the absolute minimum wage.

If the job-seeker does not hire, there are plenty of others looking for work, not so?

It is a tight circle. And although employers' wage bills are arbitrarily deflated in this manner, the general level of accumulated skills amongst the lower categories of the workforce as a whole, is allowed to drain through the sieve of short-sightedness year after year.

In searching for explanations for the existence of this unproductive state of affairs, one does not have to look too far.

### APARTHEID POLICY

Several decades of apartheid and apartheid policy implementation on the part of the successive governments in SWA, coupled with the desire of employers to maintain wage levels at the barest minimum, are the operative causes. The solution to transforming a largely unproductive mass of unskilled manual labourers to a productive labour force with a suitable industrial orientation, lies in the reform of industrial legislation, firstly.

Arguments from some quarters that the prospects of minimum wage legislation will widen the avenues of undue exploitation on the part of employers by providing them a ready-made ceiling on wages within which to restrict the payment of higher wages, are one-sided.

Private employers in the Territory are insistent in their demand that minimum wage legislation must be accompanied by higher productivity, and they are quite correct in stipulating this requirement.

It remains to point out that in the case of the existing unskilled mass of Black workers, increased productivity can only result through further training - on the job - as well formally.

In addition, however, the supervisory and managerial

levels of the labour force, must be geared to take on additional responsibilities under these conditions; for increased productivity will not naturally flow from legislative reforms and improved training.

Increased productivity involves a combination of suitably skilled labour and capital under sound, and dynamic management and supervision.

Having examined the high labour turnover amongst the Black labour force, one must not lose track of the high turnover of managerial and professional labour traditionally, and for all practical purposes, presently, dominated by the other cultural communities - Europeans and White South Africans.

#### BRAIN DRAIN

The brain drain from the Territory to the Republic is a well recognised phenomenon and has no simple solution. Under the present circumstances there is little alternative but to continue to pay these cadres inflated salaries in order to attract them to the backwaters of our underdeveloped economy. Emphasis should be placed on recruiting these people in training positions rather than for their direct economic utility. When they leave for the brighter lights of Cape Town and Johannesburg, they will then have imparted some of their skills to our own people.

It is all very well to focus

one's attention on the actively employed labour force and its general level of productivity for it is the economic muscle of SWA.

What must not be lost sight of, however, is that some two-thirds of the upper income employees in the Territory are unproductively employed in the vast bureaucratic machine that administers the political system locally.

The labour of these people, by and large, is unproductive in the sense that it does not deliver goods and services that are exchanged at a profit, in the market economy.

On the contrary, their salaries and wages are paid out of taxes gleaned from the profits of the mining, agricultural, financial and commercial sectors.

Some parts of the tertiary sector are of course more directly productive in the economic sense than others, other less so, and these carry the largest weight.

A top heavy bureaucracy is the one one thing that an independent SWA needs least, and can afford even less.

Sound administration is a necessary component to any stable political and economic system. That much is true. It is not a sufficient condition, however. Under conditions of severe economic and political strain facing SWA today, rationalisation on large scale of the national economy would be meaningless without similar efforts on the political administrative front.

# ENGLISH TO BE TAUGHT IN OWAMBO SCHOOLS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 4 Sep 80 p 3

[Text]

English will be the medium of education in Owambo as from 1981.

Mr Peter Kalangula, member of the Owambo Legislative Authority charged with education, told the Advertiser on Friday that some schools were already giving extra English to introduce the concept to the children.

Although very few children in Owambo spoke English, Mr Kalangula said they were confident that the problems they were faced with would be ironed out because the children were eager to learn.

The main problem, Mr Kalangula said, was finding English speaking teachers but, he said, they also had to start from scratch in Afrikaans teaching and if they could overcome the problems in Afrikaans they would certainly be able to overcome them now.

The scheme was initiated in the second quarter of this year when a delegation of 15 school inspectors and senior teachers, together with Mr Kalangula, approached the

Department of National Education. The officials considered their proposals and it was passed by the Owambo Legislative Authority.

All the schools in Owambo would teach by way of the English language medium as from the beginning of next year, Mr Kalangula said. There were however, a number of practical problems still to be ironed out, such as the introduction of the new language medium to senior students.

Mr Kalangula explained that the idea of English as a teaching medium was partly influenced by the number of students leaving Owambo each year for other African countries where they were educated in English. He said it was difficult to argue with the students if they were not offered any alternative medium within their own country.

A delegation from the Department of National Education is leaving for Owambo on September 8 where they would liaise with senior teachers, school inspectors and

officials to try and draw up a modus operandi for the implementation of English, Mr Kalangula said.

The Owambo Legislative Authority has decided to delegate Education to the Central Government where it would fall under the Department of National Education.

CSO: 4420

## NEW RESERVE BANK GOVERNOR IS APPOINTED

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 8 Aug 80 p 2

[Text]

**GERHARD DE KOCK**, the newly appointed Governor of the Reserve Bank, in succeeding Dr Theunis (Bob) De Jongh makes history by following in his father's footsteps.

Dr De Kock is currently senior deputy governor, but has other duties such as special economic adviser and has recently been elected to head up the Prime Minister's "Constellation of States" committee.

Dr De Kock's appointment is welcomed by those involved in free enterprise, as the "Good Doctor" is undoubtedly a marketing man, evidenced by his reports on Exchange Control, allowing easier movement of funds between this country and others.

Accolades for the manner in which Dr De Jongh has governed the Reserve Bank flowed in last night and Standard Bank's Dr Conrad Strauss, also chairman of the

Clearing Banks Association said: "For more than a decade Dr De Jongh has served South Africa with distinction, both locally and in international forums."

He added: "In my own dealings with him, I found that he was objective, unfailingly courteous, and his door was always open." Dr De Jongh has not always had the full support of the banking sector, with comments such as "inflexible" being levelled at him, but there is consensus that he has been prepared to look and listen to any argument.

The Governor's seat is an important, and executive position, and although Dr De Jongh has been seen to be conservative at times, he has operated through a very difficult period for the economy, and has handled it well.

Dr De Jongh was appointed in 1967, and at the commencement of his third term of office, on July 1, 1977, he came to agreement with the Finance Minister Owen Horwood, that he would not serve the full five year term. In his statement

yesterday, Dr De Jongh said: "I now wish to announce that, in accordance with this understanding, I have advised the Minister that I prefer to retire on December 31, 1980."

Wim Holtes, head of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, which has not exactly had the friendliest relationship with the Reserve Bank, told The Citizen: "Dr De Jongh has been a true gentleman ... and we must not forget that he has made a tremendous and everlasting mark on the South African scene."

Mr Holtes says local businessmen should be particularly grateful for Dr De Jongh's conservatism in times when the temptation to "spend the millions" was very strong.

Dr De Kock's appointment has met with a measure of surprise from the banking fraternity, but mixed with the surprise is a strong element of happiness, as his open market convictions are wellknown, and coming to the helm in good times will allow relatively free reign on the central banking sector.

## BRIEFS

UNIVERSAL NATIONAL SERVICE--Windhoek--The SWA National Assembly yesterday adopted a motion requesting the SA State President to have national service for men of all races introduced in the Territory. Introducing the motion, the DTA Chief Whip, Mr Appie Louw, said current legislation made it necessary for the SA State President to proclaim national service in the Territory. [Text] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 04 Sep 80 p 2]

FUEL TANKER ATTACKS--Windhoek--SWAPO terrorists set a road tanker alight after seizing another in a daring raid in central Owambo, northern SWA at the weekend, Mr Daan Oosthuizen, Secretary of the Owambo Administration, disclosed at Ondangwa. One of the tankers had been sent out to search for the other after it had failed to arrive at its destination. Both of the drivers managed to escape to safety, he said. [Text] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 03 Sep 80 p 1]

DIVISIONAL INSPECTOR--The successor to Colonel Attie Drotsche, Colonel Jakobus J Bothma resumed his duties as Senior Divisional Inspector in Windhoek today. Colonel Bothma, an old Southwester was District commander for Randburg before accepting the post of Senior Divisional Inspector here. He started his police career in SWA where he was stationed as constable in Gababis, Buitepos and Gochas. He was later Station Commander at Kalkfeld and Luderitz before returning to SA. Colonel Bothma is married with two sons. [Text] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 04 Sep 80 p 2]

LANDMINE EXPLOSIONS--Windhoek: Six Owambos had been killed and eleven injured in a spate of landmine explosions in the northern operational area of SWA, Mr Daan Oosthuizen, Secretary of the Owambo Administration said yesterday. Six people were killed and eight seriously injured on Tuesday afternoon when a civilian bakkie triggered a landmine about 27 km southeast of Ondangwa. The injured were admitted to the Oshakati State Hospital, Mr Oosthuizen said. The names of the victims were not released. On Sunday, a seven-tonne truck of the Owambo Administration triggered a landmine at Oshikongwe, about 21 km south-east of Ondangwa, slightly injuring three of the 10 occupants. The driver of a tractor-tanker of the Owambo administration and two passengers were not injured when the vehicle hit a landmine at Omafufu about 60 km north of Ondangwa early yesterday, he said.--SAPA [Text] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 8 Aug 80 p 5]

NEW POSTMASTER GENERAL--Windhoek: The Postmaster General of South West Africa, Mr J.J. Venter, is to retire on October 1 of this year after 42 years of service with the department. Mr Venter will be succeeded by Mr P.W.A. Senekal, Senior Deputy Director in the office of the Senior Director of Staff in Pretoria. Mr Senekal, too, has a long association with the Post Office which dates back to April, 1946. [Excerpt] [Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 23 Aug 80 p 20]

CSO: 4420



KOUNTCHE ADDRESSES CONFERENCE OF CADRES

Niamey SAHEL HEBDO in French 11 Aug 80 p 8

[Report on address by President Seyni Kountche to a conference of cadres on 5 August 1980; place not given]

[Text] Chief of State Col Seyni Kountche presided over a conference of cadres last Tuesday.

On that occasion the chief of state addressed the officers of the FAN (Niger Armed Forces), the secretaries general, the department heads, directors of the mixed-economy companies, and the representatives of the various organizations.

In opening the conference, Col Seyni Kountche first explained the reasons for the conference of cadres and its significance. He began by clarifying certain passages in his message to the nation and then removed all doubts concerning certain rumors making the rounds of Niamey's social gatherings, notably in connection with certain matters now under investigation.

The chief of state touched on the current economic and financial situation in West Africa, more especially within the economic and financial organizations to which we belong, such as the CEAO and the UMOA (West African Monetary Union). In this connection, he said that any difficulty cropping up in one of the countries necessarily has repercussions at the level of the entire organization or monetary union.

He also noted that in some countries the rainy season did not really start at the end of July, and he said that everyone knows that some countries are experiencing difficulties with food supplies.

Discussing the drop in uranium prices, the chief of state said that under the best assumption, we will experience a drop in revenues corresponding to what Niger's budget was in 1974. This calls for no comment, but it means that we will have to adopt the austerity measures required.

Speaking of austerity, Col Seyni Kountche also brought up the current matters that are the topic of conversation at social gatherings as well as

the inspections being made at certain local companies. These inspections have already revealed that the operating credits of the public services are excessive, a situation that has led to misappropriations of all kinds. In this connection, the chief of state listed a number of practices adopted by the swindlers and their accomplices. In any case, the investigations will cover all areas, and the incriminated firms will pay, because the state will never be the loser.

In the OPVN [Nigerian Foodstuffs Office] as well, fraudulent practices have resulted in massive withdrawals of cereals through the administrative lists for the benefit of a few merchants. These practices are all the more blameworthy, said the chief of state, in that the government is making a sizable effort to support the price of those cereals to allow for the purchasing power of the Nigeriens and also enable the peasants to get through to the next harvest.

Col Seyni Kountche then asked if the Nigeriens have short memories--are they already forgetting the difficulties experienced just a few years ago? Now that the situation has improved thanks to the state's efforts, a few irresponsible persons are trying to take advantage of it and make a fortune at the expense of everyone's labor. Here again the investigation is continuing, and the guilty merchants and civil servants will be made to answer for their acts.

As far as the National Commission's role is concerned, the chief of state told the national cadres that they are responsible for the progress or regression of the country. They must conduct themselves as committed patriots, because they control the machinery of state. As for the commission itself, the responsibility of its members will make it possible to test their patriotism and degree of commitment.

In conclusion, Col Seyni Kountche told the national cadres that each of them will be judged twice: once by the people and once by history. In this connection, he said that the people's verdict will be implacable and that as a result, we cannot close our eyes to certain practices.

The second verdict--that of history--is more distant but will also be pronounced on our acts and our actions.

The entire situation, he said, is due to a slackening of discipline, and in this regard, every Nigerien will have to pull himself together to accomplish his duties with conscientiousness and dignity.

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## IKOKU DENIES PURPORTED SPLIT IN PRP

London WEST AFRICA in English 1 Sep 80 p 1679

[Text]

Despite ominous signs to the contrary, the National Secretary for the People's Redemption Party (PRP), Mr S. G. Ikoku, has asserted that the party is not split. "The purported split in the party is the wishful thinking of the mass media, which backed the rebellious faction within the party."

Addressing a news conference on what was termed "recent developments within the PRP", Mr. Ikoku rejected any split on the following grounds:

"Only two deputy national secretaries and the national financial secretary are on the side of the rebels."

"The national directorate is solidly behind Alhaji Aminu Kano, with only three gradualists and compromise-seekers out of about 70 members."

"The party branches in the constituencies of rebel legislators have been sending large delegations to Kano to pledge their support for Alhaji Aminu Kano and the PRP leadership."

Mr. Ikoku added that in contrast, the overt evidence of support for the expelled Governor Abubakar Rimi has been an increased mobile police escort. He rejected reports that the PRP had been sold out to the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), adding that

attempts had been made in the past to unite the UPN, GNPP and the PRP, but these had failed.

The two sacked governors from the People's Redemption Party (PRP), Alhaji Abubakar Rimi and Alhaji Balarabe Musa, have won the first round of their battle with the PRP leadership. Until their legal actions have been fully disposed of, they should not be expelled, ruled a Lagos High Court.

The publicity secretary of the Borno State branch of the PRP, Alhaji Alhazai Bala, has said in Maiduguri that non-members were to blame for the rift currently going on within the party. Such people, he said, were trying to bring about the downfall of the party by applying all possible means of wrecking it. "It is very common for members of a family to quarrel or have a misunderstanding among them, but it is unwise and an act of sabotage for any outsider to try and interfere in the affairs of the party."

Mr. Bala expressed his belief that at the end of the current crisis, which he hoped would be resolved quickly, the party would become strong and united, and would sweep the general election in 1983.

## GOVERNORS OF OIL-PRODUCING STATES REJECT OKIGBO REPORT

London WEST AFRICA in English 1 Sep 80 pp 1641-1642

[Text] GOVERNORS of Nigeria's five oil-producing states have rejected the recommendations of the Okigbo Commission on Revenue Allocation. At the end of their meeting in Port Harcourt last week, Governors Ambrose Alli (Bendel), Melford Okilo (River) and Clement Isong (Cross River), whose states produce the bulk of on-shore crude oil, denounced the recommendations as "politically tainted, prejudiced, insensitive and biased".

Making public the substance of the Commission's report, which was recently submitted to the president, the Governor said that the report revealed a "deliberate and dangerous mix-up of the principle of derivation with the Special Fund meant to clear up the mess of the debts left by the process of exploration and exploitation of minerals". The Okigbo Commission has recommended, among other things, that federally collected revenue be distributed as follows: 53 per cent to the Federal Government, 30 per cent to the states, 10 per cent to local governments and 7 per cent to the Special Fund.

As between the states, the Commission recommended that revenue due to them should be shared on the basis of 40 per cent on population, 40 per cent on minimum responsibility (that is, on equality), 15 per cent on primary school enrolment and the balance of 5 per cent on primary school enrolment and the balance of 5 per cent on the amount of internal revenue collected. The Commission also recommends transfer of housing, agriculture and the universal primary education (UPE) from the Federal to State Governments. At present, the Federal Government funds the UPE

scheme at 40 per pupil in each state and it has invested in housing estates at state capitals. In addition, huge sums of money had been invested in agricultural projects by the Federal government in the states, particularly in river basins linking many states.

On their part, the three Governors have demanded 50 per cent of federally collected revenue for states, 40 per cent to the Federal Government and 10 per cent to local governments. The state joint account should, according to them, be shared equally on the basis of population and equality of states. They want the Special Fund paid 100 per cent to the oil states (the two others are Imo and Ondo States).

In addition, the governors have called for setting up of a national committee with equal representation from each state to monitor mineral and agricultural output for export and calculate revenue due to each state. This body would be the equivalent of the National Revenue Allocation Commission to be proposed to the National Assembly by President Shenu Shagan.

The Federal Government, in a "federation memo" to the Okigbo Commission, had demanded a share of federal revenue on a formula of 70 per cent to the Federal Government, 20 per cent to the states, and 10 per cent to local governments. The Federal Government had proposed that 3 per cent of the value of minerals derived from a given state should be statutorily allocated to it in the form of compensatory payments, while the proposed federal capital territory of Abuja be treated as a state for the purpose of revenue sharing. In addition, the Federal

Government had wanted 1 per cent of federal income to go into a National Relief Fund.

At one of their meetings before making a submission of the Okigbo Report, the nine Governors of UPN, GNPP and PRP-controlled states had called for sharing of federal revenue on the basis of 50 per cent to the Federal Government, 40 per cent to states and 10 per cent to local governments. And the report, copies of which have been made available to governors as members of the National Economic Council, was discussed at the meeting of the nine at Abeokuta last week. The nine governors will be expected to adopt a joint stand on the Okigbo report at the next meeting of the NEC.

Although details of the Commission's report are not yet known — the Federal Government has not published the report — it would appear that Okigbo had attempted to do a delicate political balancing act as between the positions of the Federal Government and the states and such conflicting criteria as population and derivation. In absolute terms, the states would have more money and the Federal Government less than they used to have if the recommendations are accepted. What would be of tremendous political interest is the weight the Commission has attached to derivation, population, equality of states, even development, equitable distribution and national interest — factors which formed the Commission's guidelines.

Attention has been focused on oil spillage in Rivers and Bendel States in anticipation of the report and to justify allocation of a Special Fund to the oil states. The Federal Government will keep its hands off primary education and 15 per cent of the state account will be shared according to primary school population. Two questions may be

raised: would states fare better in real terms under this arrangement and would the states with less populated schools not kick against the weighting, as it would benefit states like Kano, Oyo, Sokoto and Kaduna that do not produce part of the golden egg (oil)?

During a recent public debate of the oil issue, Governor Sam Mbaikwe (NPP) of Imo State has asserted that Cross River State produced less oil than Imo State. But Governor Clement Isong (NPN) of Cross River State maintained that his state ranked third after Bendel and Rivers State in oil output. And Governor Isong, who is a former Governor of the Central Bank and an economist, quickly produced figures through his director of information to buttress his statement. According to these figures, the bulk (ie. 72.56 per cent) of crude produced in 1979, that is 842 million barrels, was on-shore. The production in the creeks of the Rivers State is regarded as on-shore. The balance of 27.43 per cent was off-shore.

Rivers, Imo and Ondo States did not produce any off-shore crude, while Bendel and Cross River produced 61.47 and 38.52 per cent, respectively, of total off-shore crude. And distribution of each state's contribution to total production in 1979 is as follows: Bendel 53.08 per cent, Rivers 28.74 per cent, Cross River 11.75 per cent, Imo 6.17 per cent and Ondo 0.11 per cent.

If the oil debate between the two governors is anything to go by, public discussion of the Okigbo Report is expected to be intense. For one thing, there would appear to be enough common ground between the states for them jointly to confront the Federal Government, ignoring party platforms. For another, it would appear that in an attempt to satisfy all sides, Okigbo may not have succeeded in satisfying any.

SPEECHES AT FIFTH PCR CONGRESS REPORTED

ARFMA Official's Speech

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 18 Jul 80 p 4

[Speech by ARFMA [Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution] member Laurent Radaody at the Fifth Congress of the PCR [Reunionese Communist Party]]

[Text] Comrade delegates, Reunionese brothers and sisters

The secretary general of ARFMA, Didier Ratsiraka, personally asked me to bring you his brotherly regards and to bear witness to you once more of our organization's militant solidarity with the PCR, which is to us not only the major force struggling for respect of the Reunion people's legitimate rights, but also a vital element in the fight against imperialism and for the defense of peace and socialism in our area.

The Vitality of Progressive Forces in the Area

We salute this fifth congress of the PCR and the success of its work as outstanding proof of the vitality of progressive forces in this region of the Indian Ocean.

The quality of the analyses and discussions which we have heard here faithfully reflect the important and responsible principles of the Reunionese communists as we have known them for a long time in Madagascar, and which led ARFMA from the beginning to conclude warm and confident relations with the PCR and its leaders.

All the Colonies Are Disappearing

Whatever the intrigues and mystification created by those who are nostalgic for an outdated and iniquitous order, ARFMA, as all the progressive parties in Madagascar, is strongly at your side in your struggle for respect of the right of the Reunionese people to self-determination, to build themselves a future of liberty, justice and social progress; for we are convinced that only the people of Reunion can decide what is good



for Reunion and that it is up to the people and to those who create the wealth, in other words the workers, to define their goals and the manner in which they will be attained through the organizations and institutions which they judge to be the most effective.

We are also convinced of the futility of the rear-guard struggle led by a colonialism which, anachronistic at the end of the 20th century, is seeing all the colonies, even those established 3 centuries ago, inevitably disappear.

#### **A Burdensome Heritage To Dispel**

We are not minimizing, however, the threats which international imperialism always cause to hover over the independence and the security of countries which have recently been liberated and which are trying to dispel the burdensome heritage that colonialism has imposed through its policies of pilfering and overexploiting.

Our party would like to express here its gratitude to the PCR for its faithful support of the Malagasy Republic in the defense of its youth and its integrity in the face of the imperialist maneuvers, and especially for the support of the PCR for Madagascar's legitimate claim to recovery of the Malagasy Islands in the Mozambique Channel, unduly occupied by France.

We also congratulate ourselves for having at our sides a companion in battle such as the PCR in the struggle to make the Indian Ocean a peace zone. We have discussed this issue together for several years, and today our most pessimistic predictions are on the verge of being realized if we wait any longer to mobilize.

#### **No to the Balance of Terror!**

We are presently witnessing an unprecedented militarization of the Indian Ocean under the avowed pretext of protecting the petroleum route. Nuclear weapon strike forces are brought into our region every day, the number of warships is continuously growing, and, in the case of a confrontation, the coastal countries would be the first victims of this deranged escalation.

We can admit that each country must protect its interests, and we can understand the conflicts which exist, but we cannot accept that the consequence of this be the establishment of a balance of terror at our doors.

It is for this reason that Madagascar has decided to make its contribution to peace in this area and in the rest of the world by inviting the heads of state of the USSR, the United States, China and Japan, the heads of the EEC, the CEMA and the group of combined nations, and the heads of

state of the countries on the Indian Ocean, to a summit conference at Antananarivo at the end of next year or at the beginning of 1982, to draft an international convention guaranteeing the safety of private ships, and more specifically, of oil tankers in the Indian Ocean. In a reciprocal agreement, the signatories will promise to take all measures to facilitate creation of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean by adopting the following four points in particular:

1. Guarantee of the safety of private navigation and oil tankers.
2. Progressive reduction of military personnel.
3. Dismantling of foreign military bases.
4. Prohibition of the entrance of nuclear weapons or of weapons capable of massive destruction into the Indian Ocean.

For the Solidarity of Progressive Forces in the Islands

We were able to note during this congress from the explanations of your party how the idea of an Indian Ocean peace zone is deeply rooted among the people of Reunion.

We were also able to appreciate the living force which the tenets of socialism and of anti-imperialist solidarity constitute within the heart of your party; tenets which unite us even more than all the very strong ties of history and geography.

Finally, we were able to see through the work of this Fifth Congress how the watchword of democratic and popular autonomy has actually become a watchword of the people, thanks to the PCR. The PCR's action is based on a concrete analysis of the specific conditions in Reunion and is essential in sweeping away attempts to sow diversion among us by confusion for the sole profit of our common enemy: imperialism.

And we would like to profit from the unique opportunity which is offered us today to renew our unflagging appeal for the solidarity of the progressive forces of the Indian Ocean islands.

Before yielding the floor to the other parties who are members of the FNDRSM [National Front for the Defense of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution], let me thank the Reunionese communists for the warm and brotherly welcome I have received.

What we have heard and seen here fully confirms, if confirmation is still needed, that there are more and more of us who are refusing to kneel before the colonialists and the imperialists.

Long live the Reunionese Communist Party and its Fifth Congress!

Long live the solidarity between the brothers of Reunion and Madagascar  
in the struggle against colonialism and for peace!

#### Cuban Representative's Speech

Saint Denis TMOIGNAGES in French 21 Jul 80 p 5

[Speech by Rene De Los Santos, member of the Central Committee of the  
Cuban Communist Party at the Fifth Congress of the PCR]

[Text] The participation of the representative of the Cuban Communist Party was one of the highlights of the Fifth Congress of the Reunionese Communist Party. It was the first time, in fact, that a Cuban delegate made the trip from the Caribbean to bring the support of the Cuban people to the Reunionese people.

In the same sugar cane monoculture, the same environment marked by the presence of imperialist forces, Fidel Castro's representative must have felt "at home" on our island, and more particularly, at the port during these 3 days of the PCR congress. "Peace in the Indian Ocean," "Friendship among the people," "Solidarity of the progressive forces"; these phrases could only reinforce the common struggle of the Cuban and Reunionese people.

It is with great pleasure that we bring to the delegates at the Fifth Congress of the Reunionese Communist Party, and, through the congress, to all communists and to the Reunionese people, the warm and brotherly regards of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, of its first secretary, comrade Fidel Castro, and of all the Cuban people.

As for our delegation, it is with special emotion that we meet with you at this congress, since this demonstrates and reaffirms the bonds of friendship between the Communist Party of Cuba and the Reunionese Communist Party, and between our two people.

Both of our countries are small islands with similar characteristics, with economies essentially based on agriculture, where sugar cane is the chief export product. In both countries there are military bases imposed by imperialism against the will of the people and we are both located in regions in which the imperialists are trying to maintain their military, economic and political predominance. Our people are both defending their inalienable rights to freely and independently decide their future.

The struggles of the Reunionese people against colonial exploitation, impregnated with true class character, began very early. These struggles have been continued by their communist party in the unions, in the women's

and youth democratic organizations, giving them a more advanced political and social content to end the situation of colonial domination in order to permit independent economic development, social progress and cultural and political expansion in freedom.

Today the struggle of the Reunionese communists is becoming more important. The geographical location of their country in this strategic area of the Indian Ocean where American imperialism intends to give us a new version of "gunboat diplomacy," obliges the people to maintain close surveillance along with other countries in the area in order to attain the vehement desire of all men: that the Indian Ocean become a peace zone.

The Cuban people, as well as many other countries in Africa and in other parts of the world, had to struggle for decades for their independence and their freedom, finally and irreversibly obtained in January 1959.

Since then, and during these 21 years, the North American imperialists have maintained a criminal blockade against our people, performing mercenary sabotage, provocation and aggression, and stubbornly continuing to occupy the naval base at Guantanamo against the will of the people, while spy planes hover over our territory.

But none of this has been able to break our revolutionary spirit; on the contrary, this has only consolidated and strengthened our revolution. Powerless, the imperialists are now trying to orchestrate new and even more dangerous actions against Cuba.

To this purpose, the Carter administration had announced military maneuvers in the Antilles which would include a massive debarkation at the Guantanamo naval base; but he had to abandon the plan in the face of categorical condemnation by our people and world solidarity.

Their new maneuvers and slanderous campaigns have failed again before the resolute will of the Cuban people. Millions of men, women and children have demonstrated to the world their unconditional support of the revolution, the communist party and our commander in chief.

Comrades,

Mankind today is threatened by new dangers, by grave dangers, due to the fact that the imperialists have not lost any of their aggressive and predatory nature, any more than they have renounced their intention of turning back history, of trying to relaunch the sad era of the cold war to recover lost ground.

We have proof of this in the frantic arms race, in the increase of their military presence in the Indian Ocean, on the Diego-Garcia island, and in the coastal countries, in their maneuvers and aggressions against Iran, in the creation of a rapid intervention team, in the decision to install

new nuclear warheads in Western Europe, and in their refusal to ratify the SALT II agreements.

The people of the world, desiring only peace, are watching imperialism's aggressive plans with alarm, and demanding in complete justice the dismantling of these military bases and the end of the arms race.

The recent victory of the people of Zimbabwe, who, under the direction of the patriotic front, fought an unequal battle against English colonialism and the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, proves that it is no longer possible to prevent the people from liberating themselves.

On this occasion we cannot tire of condemning the vile and criminal aggression of which our brothers in Angola are victims by the hands of the racist forces of South Africa; this aggression, as justly pointed out by comrade Fidel Castro in his message addressed to the heads of state of the non-aligned nations "coincides with the recent actions announced by the United States to eliminate the legal restrictions which hypothetically were limiting the administration by preventing its intervention in the internal affairs of Angola and the granting of open aid to counterrevolutionaries who operate from South African bases."

This fact again demonstrates the close alliance between imperialism and apartheid; it shows the danger which the existence of such a degrading regime and the military, economic and political cooperation granted it by several western powers constitutes for the people of Africa, as well as the necessity of continuing to supply political and material support to the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia and to their legitimate representatives: the ANC and the SWAPO.

Comrades,

We are sure that this congress, which is important not only for the communists, but also for all the Reunionese people, will contribute to the strengthening of the struggle of the workers and of all the people of this beautiful island of Reunion for democratic and popular autonomy based on anticolonialism.

Long live the Fifth Congress of the Reunionese Communist Party!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

The homeland or death!

We will overcome!

9693

CSO: 4400

NEW TEACHERS' UNION PLANNED

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 13 Aug 80 p 4

[Text] It has been learned in Dakar that in reaction to the Sole Democratic Trade Union of Senegalese Teachers (SUDES), which is close to the opposition, teachers favorable to the Senegalese Government are going to establish a Federation of National Education Workers (FTEN). This new union will be formed at a congress to be held at the end of October.

A trade union of socialist primary and secondary teachers (the party in power in Senegal is the Socialist Party) was established on Sunday. The constituent congress for the Union of Lay and Religious Private Teachers, this establishment will be followed in October by that of a union of nonteaching personnel in national education. The three unions will then constitute the FTEN [paragraph as published].

The decision to set up these new structures was made on 10 April by a national conference of socialist teachers, which also decided to dissolve the former National Union of Senegalese Teachers [SNES], which was close to the government, after noting that it had fallen "into a state of lethargy."

Like the former SNES, the new federation will be a member of the National Confederation of Senegalese Workers, which is affiliated with the Socialist Party.

The congress of socialist teachers adopted a resolution affirming its attachment to Leopold Sedar Senghor, president of the republic and secretary general of the Socialist Party. The union condemns the SUDES for initiating a strike last 13 May in which it refused to administer examinations, and it expresses its solidarity with the authorities in the sanctions adopted. Lastly, it is asking the government to take steps to insure that the coming school year will proceed under the most favorable conditions.

11798

CSO: 4400



# STUDENTS ATTEND LAUNAY HOLIDAY CAMP

Victoria NATION in English 18 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] The first group of several hundred Primary Nine students from all over the country who are taking part in a specially organised holiday camp arrived, excited and happy at Port Launay yesterday afternoon.

The group, which is divided into 18 units, consists of over 170 students accompanied by a number of teachers. These students will be eligible to enter the NYS when it starts next year.

The camp which started yesterday is the first of three that have been organised during the August school holidays.

In a short welcoming speech, the Minister of State for Youth and Community Development, Mr. Esme Jumeau, expressed his delight at seeing the eager young faces who had come to sample, in the short period of one week, the satisfaction and benefits of real harmony, on which the society of tomorrow will be based. Mr. Jumeau told the students that for the rest of the week they are to live as brothers and sisters.

"You are expected to talk about any problems, which may arise with your supervisors and they in turn will help you to find the solutions. If any such problems are quickly spotted, discussed and rooted out, there is no way in which the camp will not be a success," Minister Jumeau said.

"Living as brothers and sisters demands a lot of tolerance, understanding and discipline and this is what we are asking of you as from today," he added.

"Your parents know that in this pilot camp you will all be able to see what type of society the Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF) is aiming for," Minister Jumeau went on.

"The true road to a new and better society is being created now, by you all," he emphasised.

After the Minister's speech, senior youth officer, Miss Noella Antat, outlined the organisation of the camp.

It is to have seven departments: an information department which will include the drawing up of reports; the taking of photos and also a study of the history of Port Launay; a cultural section to deal with traditional dances, plays and songs; a production section which will carry out community work; and other departments covering ecology, health, domestic science and sports.

Apart from the Youth Department officials, a number of volunteers from the Port Launay community will help with the cooking and in any other way they can.

A co-ordinator for each of the 18 units will be appointed by the rest of the participants and he or she will discuss with the group's advisor any problem arising in that particular unit.

While in camp the group will also be organising a sports day. A cultural evening will close each week's camp and it is hoped that as many parents as possible will attend these. The cultural shows will be held on Saturday evenings, before the break-up of camp on Sunday.

All the students taking part in this and the other two camps are volunteers.

CSO: 4420

## USSR INTERVENTIONISM IN HORN SCORED

Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 22 Aug 80 p 6

[Article by A. Jama: "Is Moscow the Protector of the OAU Charter?"]

[Text] Member States of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) should urge in unison this super-power which supports the Mengistu regime to cease its uncalled for and unwarranted intervention in purely African problems.

As a matter of fact, in order to prop its position among African states the Soviet Union keeps making loud references to the OAU Charter by stating that all member states have committed themselves to upholding the existing borders in Africa!

Obviously the logical question to ask then is: where is the passage in the OAU Charter which says that it is the Soviet Union to ensure the implementation of the Charter by intervening militarily?

The above super-power has intervened in the question of the Horn for its own

strategic ends through its often orchestrated propaganda of protecting "the Socialist Revolution in Ethiopia" surrounded by imperialism and hostile reactionary states.

While in the past, Abyssinia has subtly utilised the old cliché of "Christian Island" surrounded by a sea of Muslims.

In fact, the Soviet Union has ignored international and African public opinion in its flagrant and wanton intervention in the Horn's affairs by the active deployment of 12% of its total transport fleet to safeguard the dying colonialism of the Mengistu regime in 1977-78.

But one thing is certain that the Russian and their surrogates have utterly failed in their intervention by their lack of understanding the true nature of the

forces caught in the conflict of the Horn.

In retrospect, the conflict of the Horn is basically a war of nationalism in which the said super-power has openly sided with the oppressor. Thus five major oppressed nationalities namely, the Eritreans, Somalis, Oromos, Tigraweans and the Afars have opted for the armed struggle in order to extricate themselves from the clutches of Amhara minority domination.

Similarly, the majority of the Black people in South Africa are fighting against the White Afrikaner minority rule. Both these peoples are fighting for their legitimate and inalienable rights for self-determination.

This being the essence of the issue of the Horn, it is then high time that the OAU member states should take a principled stand on the said issue instead of pursuing an ostrich-like policy.

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CSO: 4420

BACKING OF ISRAEL BY 'CERTAIN' POWERS TERMED 'HYPOCRITICAL'

Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 7 Aug 80 p 2

[Editorial: "Condemning the Israeli Plan"]

[Text] Israel's announcement to make Jerusalem its capital city has come at a time when our world has been undergoing a series of crises, the latest of which was Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. These two events have compounded the already tense situation of the international body politic, and have thrown into relief not only the Palestinian question but the fundamental issue of human rights.

Many of us are apt to look up to the UNO for a solution whenever a crisis occurs somewhere, and that is only natural, for the UN was founded with the aim of maintaining international justices. And we are disappointed when in a flagrant violation of its charter certain tragic events take place. Further, one is appalled when he or she finds out that the very nations that are expected to observe the principles and behests of the UNO are themselves the very first criminals to commit or abet others to commit acts that are in violent contrast to the Charter to which they have subscribed.

If Israel had not have the backing of certain big powers it could not have been able to pursue its expansionist policies. [as published] These powers have either backed it openly or have blocked moves in the United Nations to curb Israeli ambitions.

It is indeed hypocritical that these very powers at the same time preach freedom, peace and democracy for all. This is applying not only double standards but triple standards, for nowadays in addition to denying others these rights they blatantly justify their own involvement in the trouble-spots of the world on the ground that they are putting into action these lofty human ideals.

We condemn the present monstrous Israeli plan as champions of the Palestinian cause and of the right to self-determination and of human freedom. And particularly at this moment when the whole Moslim world is wrathful we too would like to record our indignation alongside the rest of our brothers.

CSO: 4420

ISLAMIC, SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM PRINCIPLES DOVETAIL

Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 1 Aug 80 p 2

[Editorial: "An Ally of our Revolution"]

[Text] The revolutionary government has attached great importance to the improvement of religious knowledge. In view of this, training courses have been organized for our Shiekhs from time to time, thus keeping them abreast of developments. [as published] Just during this week one such course has been closed at Afgoi.

The reason behind our Revolution's concern for the religion of Islam is quite obvious. Our people are one hundred per cent Muslims, and Islam has been the main source of inspiration for them over the centuries. All our great nationalist leaders were invariably prominent religious leaders who fought under the banner of Islam.

Likewise all our good theologians have been freedom-lovers who have defended our people in their nationhood and sovereignty conformity with Islam that preaches freedom, equality and justice for all humanity. For which reason the Somali people have never submitted to slavery in whatever form it exists. Inspired by this great religion they have consistently strived to play a constructive and progressive role in order to improve their lot and that of their fellow men elsewhere.

That is why our religious men have always been the standard-bearers of all our revolutions as Jaalle Siad averred at the closing ceremony of this present course.

Islam, before the Revolution, was in a miserable condition. It was relegated to the background and consequently chaos reigned in every sphere of life. There was anarchy and a degeneration of morality. Worse, Islam was used by our enemies to further their own ends.

Islam is a dynamic religion that can go with every epoch and give guidance at all times. More important, it is a religion that champions the cause of the exploited and the oppressed. Its tenets, therefore, nicely dovetail with the principles of Scientific Socialism. In as much as it interprets the aspirations of our people, it has the same objectives which our Revolution is seeking to attain. Islam is, in other words, an ally of our Revolution.

CSO: 4420



## SOMALIA

### BRIEFS

EEC REFUGEE ASSISTANCE--Mogadishu, Thursday--The European Economic Community is to provide seven million US dollars to the refugees in Somalia, according to a letter handed to the Somali Minister for Local Governments and Rural Development Jaalle Jama Mohamed Galib here today. [as published] The letter was submitted by Mr. C. Pellas who is leading an EEC delegation now visiting Somalia. Jaalle Galib expressed thanks to the EEC member states for their kind assistance to the refugees. [Excerpt] [Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 22 Aug 80 p 6]

CSO: 4420

PIK BOTHA WARNS PRESS ON USE OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 2 Aug 80 pp 1, 3

[Text] Newspaper publication of official documents and notes published without authority is a crime, according to a statement issued yesterday evening in Pretoria by Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

This statement was issued after it came to the government's attention that documents and notes of an interdepartmental committee came into the hands of some newspapers. The committee was set up for the purpose of countering the unrest which broke out earlier this year in Capetown--one of the causes being the school boycott.

Consequences

"These newspapers are bent on publishing notes and other documents about the committee's functions. The newspapers must judge for themselves whether any laws are broken by publishing such things."

The statement also says: "The newspapers must also assume responsibility for any harmful effects which the publication can have on the government's efforts at maintaining law and order in the country."

"The committee in question was established by the cabinet and was given the task of planning measures aimed at countering increasing unrest and violence. The unrest and violence also stemmed from school boycotts earlier this year."

"Through peaceful measures, the committee has contributed to the prevention of violence and in forestalling the loss of life. The committee also divulged information refuting the lies and misinformation which had been spread on a large scale by subversive elements."

"In some instances, anonymous pamphlets were prepared by the committee, because it regarded this as the most effective way for countering unrest and subversive plans and in helping to maintain order. The pamphlets reflected the opinions and attitudes of a large sector of the population."

"The government will not hesitate to maintain law and order with all the forces and resources at its disposal. If it should again appear to be necessary,

measures of this kind will be employed in order to combat the action and false propaganda of anonymous agitators and advocates of violence and to promote peace in the country.

"The police are investigating the unauthorized issuance of official documents to certain newspapers and appropriate measures will be taken in light of the findings." (South African Press Agency)

7964

C80: 4408

## ENORMOUS TASK FOR REAGAN SHOULD HE BECOME PRESIDENT

Johannesburg DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 19 Jul 80 p 6

[Editorial: "Tests for Reagan"]

[Text] For Western democracies, which have become so worried over the shift of power equilibrium during the Carter administration, the fact that Republican candidate Ronald Reagan is making such loud noises for the coming presidential elections must be encouraging.

This is because what the West is now yearning for is exactly that, namely: Strength and decisive leadership in a world which has become extremely dangerous as a result of Russian self-confidence and expansionism which is unprecedented since the World War II rearrangements which favored Joseph Stalin so much.

But, unfortunately, it is here that one finds a reality which is going to provide a tough time for Mr Reagan to suit deeds to his words, should he really become president.

First of all, there is the fact that the Soviet Union has attained equality with the United States with respect to nuclear weapons. Then, in the conventional [weapons] area the very thing which former prime minister John Forster predicted on several occasions has happened: The Russians have built up such an advantage that now a great price must be paid for that.

For example, let us take Afganistan--What on earth can President Carter do militarily to get the Russians out of there other than unleash a self-destructive nuclear war? It is simply in irrefutable fact that, as far as conventional forces are concerned, the Soviets have surpassed the West in Europe, Asia and even black Africa (if you do not count in South Africa).

A tremendous effort by the United States will be necessary to get the equilibrium back in its favor. Will Mr Reagan be able to bring the American people up to making these kinds of sacrifices?

And there is still one more question: Will the Western allies work better with him than they have with Mr Carter? We must remember that the simplistic days of American predominance which characterized the decades of the fifties and sixties are gone forever.

ROUTENBACH APPOINTED TO POLITICAL PLANNING IN PM'S OFFICE

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 6 Aug 80 p 9

[Text] Johannesburg -- Prof I. Rautenbach, 37-years old, whose appointment as head of the new branch of political planning in the prime minister's office was announced yesterday, believes that a new constitution must be drafted for South Africa over a period of 4 or 5 years.

Professor Rautenbach, who was former dean of the Faculty of Jurisprudence of the Rand Afrikaans University and a professor in public law, assumed this point of view at the end of last year in a report submitted to the Schlebusch Commission.

The climate for a new final and ideal constitution is not the right one; however, a commitment to put into effect a new constitution over a period of 4 or 5 years should create an atmosphere of detente in which a new constitution could well be stipulated by whites, coloreds and Indians.

Dreyer

Besides the appointment of Dr Routenbach it was also announced yesterday that J. P. O. Dreyer, formerly chief planner in the office of the prime minister, has now become chief of economic planning. He succeeds Dr Simon Brand who was appointed chief of fiscal policy.

Professor Rautenbach, who grew up on the family farm near Harrismith in the Free State, is in Heidelberg, West Germany, at the moment doing research on constitutional law with special emphasis on security legislation.

He has an Alexander von Humbolt scholarship and is using his 1-year leave for study (which now has apparently come to an end) and to do research.

Ideal

Professor Rautenbach based his proposal to the Schlebusch Commission, that the government commit itself to the realization of the ideal of a new constitution within 4 or 5 years, on the opinion that the whites, either rightly or wrongly, have misgivings about the responsibility with which colored and Indian groups will be partaking in power sharing.

Coloreds and Indians also have doubts about the honesty of whites whenever meaningful constitutional reforms are discussed. Professor Rautenbach's view was that the groups practicing political policy must either drop their suspicions or prove them. This should create a spirit of detente in which a new constitution can be considered. This could then become a practical workshop.

In the interim arrangement, coloreds and Indians must have legislative authority over their own affairs and also have the say concerning the determination about the extent of power and the manner in which community matters are to be handled.

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CSO: 4408



OPPOSITION ASKED TO GIVE THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL CHANCE

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 6 Aug 80 p 12

[Editorial: "The Presidential Council"]

[Text] In the debate revolving around the Presidential Council, the planned Black Council and the country's constitutional future, too many of the participants are getting boggled in the erroneous thinking that these bodies are an objective in themselves rather than instruments of change as intended by the government.

The Presidential Council is going to consist of 60 members, all distinguished persons from the white, black, colored, Indian and Chinese communities. It appears desirable to have the Black Council consist of mainly urban blacks in view of the fact that considerable progress has already been made in collaborating within a confederal context with respect to the self-governing and already independent national states.

The opposition is making the point that the Presidential Council is doomed to failure, because 70 percent of the country's population is not represented in it.

Naturally the opposition makes no mention of the possible counterargument that this could imply that 70 percent of the Presidential Council must be black (and, therefore, in practical terms such a Council could sink before it even begins).

Such lack of frankness might serve their own interests, but certainly not those of the country.

In addition it ought to be borne in mind that national states have reached separate and joint stages of constitutional development in which negotiations in the context of a confederation are actually already underway. An example of this is the recent summit conference between South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda in which, among other things, an agreement was reached with respect to a development bank. The requirements for a form of fulfillment for the wants of urban blacks can, therefore, become a matter for the Black Council to a certain degree.

Moreover, the expectations for the Presidential Council, in which prominent leaders of the various groups must try to jointly reach a consensus over the course of changes, in no way excludes consultations with the Black Council now being considered.

A place for the black people in a new constitutional order is, therefore, not being left out of consideration, whereas the Presidential Council itself must show through consultations that it can succeed as an instrument of change.

The cardinal question is that, for the sake of a peaceful future, these instruments of change must be given a chance to show their worth.

Apparently it will be just as easy to wreck untested new institutions such as these as it is to break off a bud and getting these institutions to succeed will be just as hard as allowing a bud to bloom.

The question which South Africans must ask themselves is whether they want to help or whether they want to make things difficult; whether they want to take part in a new initiative which demands daring and great effort or whether they want to stand aside in the destructive role of demolishers.

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CSO: 4408

## SOUTH AFRICA

### ARMY COMMANDER WARNS OF LONG-TERM STRUGGLE

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 26 Jul 80 p 4

[Text] Pretoria -- South Africa must not make the mistake of assuming that in preparing for a war against it the attack is going to be of the same sort as the one in Rhodesia or Southwest Africa. The country must prepare for a long, stretched out war of "the plow in one hand and the gun in the other."

This was the statement made yesterday at Pelindaba by the chief of the army, Lt Gen Constant Viljoen, as he presented medals to members of the Broederstroom Industrial Commando. The commando is tasked with the protection of the heart of South Africa's nuclear research.

General Viljoen said that in the past the enemy has not hesitated to attack very important installations in the country and the country must be prepared to expect such attacks.

#### Regional Preparedness

Greater emphasis will have to be given in the future to sabotage and attacks on economically important targets, because such attacks are important for the psychological onslaught against the country.

Similarly the country must prepare itself for attacks on actually any place. The enemy is not in a hurry and is preparing for a long struggle. Weak targets will become important objectives and a system of regional preparedness covering the entire country will have to be pursued.

General Viljoen said the ideal situation would be for the country to have enough soldiers to show their presence everywhere in sufficient numbers, but this would require too many of them and this sort of thing would fit in with the enemy's aim of economic and psychological exhaustion process.

Therefore, the responsibility of protecting regions with part-time soldiers, who will be present everywhere and whose training is aimed at this objective, rests upon authorities such as those in Pelindaba.

Angola

The full-time soldiers of the army will then be able to deploy for action against enemy targets such as was recently the case with the Angola operation, and also for border defense.

This sort of approach, which must be put into action, is one of work and defense such as is the case with the Israeli settlements where the land is being worked with gun in hand while outlook posts are present in the surroundings and women and children are in places protected against attacks.

General Viljoen said that South Africa has no other choice but to extend its field of defense, not only with respect to installations but also with respect to schools and other important places.

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TREURNICHT DISCUSSES RUGBY INTEGRATION, NP UNITY

No Rugby Integration

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 1 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] Bloemfontein -- Yesterday, here at Bloemfontein, A. P. Treurnicht, Transval's Nationalist Party leader, clearly disassociated himself from the effort to open up rugby to all races at a club level.

In the course of the meeting, arranged by the Nationalist Party Youth Branch of the Free State University, he proceeded to answer a question put to him by saying that he saw a press report to the effect that rugby will become "open" at a club level.

"I do not think this is possible, because in having this sort of thing then you are going to have mixed schools and residential neighborhoods," he stated.

In his earlier speech and in answer to other questions, Dr Treurnicht placed heavy emphasis on the right of communities to have their own institutions. He said that the basic approach is still to practice sport on a community basis; this means that communities will have their own clubs and the like.

If one group plays against the other, that is not integration.

NP Unity, Constructive Criticism

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 1 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] Bloemfontein -- There are many people who think they must save the Afrikaner people by starting a new movement, because the Nationalist Party [NP] would otherwise end up on the wrong road, "but I want to tell them that they must give attention to what happened in the forties when one organization was trying to be more nationalist than the other," stated Dr Andries Treurnicht, the minister for tourism, statistics and public works, here in Bloemfontein.

Among the pro-Nationalists there was "a spectacle of divisiveness, humiliation and grief" in the forties when our people quarreled among themselves. Today something like that is happening again.

It is the people's right to criticize, but then they should do so for the improvement of Nationalist Party policy and not for the sake of carrying on one-sided ravings. Today South Africa is asking its people to unite under the banner of the Nationalist Party. Minister Treurnicht said that it is clear that organizing for the purpose of bringing down the government, or to make it succumb to demands, is going on even outside of parliament. "I can cite the MPs who are supporting this."

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## ECONOMIC PLIGHT OF WALVIS BAY DESCRIBED

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 29 Jul 80 p 6

[Excerpt] Keeromstraat 30 Capetown--It would appear that the Walvis Bay fishing industry workers deserve at least as much sympathy, and perhaps actual help as well, as the sheep raisers of some of the dry sections of the interior. This tiny enclave with its strategic significance for South Africa is experiencing hard times.

Dornehl Vosloo, who has held the brand new position of director of Walvis Bay since the beginning of this year, came to greet us in passing and in his usual candid manner answered a few questions about the "the challenge of Walvis."

To begin with it is well to bear in mind that these are hardy people and they do not complain; but they do have problems.

Compared to a sardine and anchovy quota of 1 million tons 4 years ago, they are now working up an average of 150,000 tons. The once superabundant pelagic source has been exhausted and a long period of reestablishment lies ahead.

Only three of the eight fish-processing factories are still running and out of the previous work force of 14,000 workers there are 4,000 left. About 10,000 of them, mostly nonwhites, have had to leave and those who stayed on are leading a survival existence. The great black hostel is empty and its 6,000 beds are unoccupied. The municipality is saddled with an unproductive investment of 11 million rand; the income from water and lighting for the complex had disappeared. Only the timely intervention of South Africa's minister of finance prevented taxation from having to rise by 112 percent last year.

### White Fish

When asked why the fishermen do not concentrate on white fish, Vosloo had an answer for this also: To be able to catch and process white fish takes new investments and in today's uncertain political circumstances people think twice.

Nobody would know better than our spokesman. He is always being dispatched to Walvis to help the leaders of the community stimulate the deteriorating economy.

With the collapse of the fishing industry it is business that first comes to feel the pinch, and yet business people from elsewhere in Southwest Africa do not hesitate to invest money in property in Walvis Bay. They must know that this region's future in that respect is at least insured by the fact that it could be of extreme strategic importance if it becomes impossible to reach a compromise over Southwest Africa.

Or is Walvis experiencing problems of relationship as a result of its proximity to the "open" Swakop hardly 40 kilometers away up along the coast?

#### Rust Problem

No...we would rather talk about tourism. The potential for this in Walvis with its rich and exotic bird life is great. People always wish to include a tour through the peculiar sandy region in their "Southwest vacation."

One last problem: Is Walvis Bay close to resolving its problems with Rusting?

This does not appear to be in the positive.

An automobile which has not been regularly treated will not hold up longer than 1 year. Special antirusting treatment is necessary before building foundations can be poured. The town lies below sea level and is built on sand with a salt content four times as high as sea water.

The only thing that does not get rusty is the inhabitants' love and faithfulness for the far away hold-out place lost in their dreams and lying between the high dunes of the Namib and the surly swells of the Atlantic Ocean where the fishing fleets of other nations keep on scooping deep for white fish without having to recognize the 200 nautical mile limit, because they do not recognize the presence of the white South Afrikaners ashore.

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## SOUTH AFRICA

### BRIEFS

APPOINTMENT TO PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE--Johannesburg--The deputy commissioner of auxiliary administrative services of the Department of Jails, Maj Gen Jannie Roux, has been appointed chief of the branch of social planning in the office of the prime minister. The 37-year-old General Roux (who for the past 4 years has been deputy commissioner of auxiliary administrative services in the Department of Jails) will assume his new position in the office of the prime minister the day after tomorrow. On that day, General Roux will be exchanging his uniform and rank for civilian clothing and his title of doctor. He has been connected with the Department of Jails for the past 19 years. General Roux is not saying much about his new position in the office of the prime minister, except to say that he has been transferred from one department to another with a promotion. [Text] [Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 30 Jul 80 p 29] 7964

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## COFFEE SMUGGLERS SAID ROBBING COUNTRY OF ASSETS

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 18 Aug 80 p 4

(Article by John Worrall in Nairobi)

(Text)

ONE third of Uganda's lifeblood — coffee — is being drained away by smuggling. Ugandans say it is worse than it was in the days of Idi Amin and has become a sophisticated racket in which international syndicates are involved.

Last year, government experts said, smuggling cost Uganda 50,000 tonnes of coffee out of a crop of 165,000 tonnes. It is ironic that the coffee industry should be suffering this loss just as it is getting on its feet after the mess left behind by Amin.

Ugandans are at their wits end to know how to control the racket. Corruption and theft has got so bad among all ranks of officials, police, army and customs officers that only a major change in deteriorating public morals can redeem the situation.

That, again, is a heritage Amin left to his unhappy country — a creeping decay of moral standards.

But smuggling, like other forms of crime, has to have a buyer and a seller. The buyers are known to be wealth syndicates, with large sums of money available, operating across the Uganda borders in Kenya, Zaire and Rwanda.

In Kenya, the buyers have access to the traditional port of Mombasa, where Uganda's legitimate coffee exports leave Africa for the international markets.

Millions of Kwacha in foreign exchange are being lost to Uganda through coffee smuggling, foreign exchange which the country cannot afford.

There have recently been high level meetings by the ruling military commission to find ways of ending the racket. One problem is that highly placed ministers and officials are involved, using their rank to move the coffee out.

Many consignments leaving the country in road trucks and transporters are found to have official documents

issued by the Uganda Coffee Marketing Board.

At the Kenya border, agents are waiting with large sums of money in the much sought after Kenya currency to buy the consignments. Customs officers and police, generally poorly paid and wide open to temptation, shut their eyes to the operations.

The Kenya government is also robbed of large sums in customs dues through the corrupt activities of its own officials.

Sometimes the Uganda police crack down. The manager of the Bugisu Coffee Cooperative Society was arrested after 14 lorries had been loaded with Bugisu arabica coffee destined to be taken through the Malaba border to Mombasa. The consignment had false documentation.

The consignment was to have been mingled at some point with Kenya's own arabica coffee, a practice which has alarmed the Kenya Coffee Board which prides itself on the consistent quality of its coffee when offered on the international markets.

## Smuggled

Most of Uganda's smuggled coffee goes out by road. But some is smuggled across Lake Victoria (which is shared by the three East African countries, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda) in fast motor boats, to Sio Port, on the Kenya side.

Lake smuggling went on in Amin's days, and he operated an anti-smuggling unit using fast speedboats heavily armed with modern weapons, and something manned by girl soldiers.

Amin's white lieutenant, "Major" Bob Astles, was at one time in charge of this unit. He is now languishing in a Kampala jail awaiting trial on many charges.

Smuggling coffee is also a little man's activity. Smugglers who have bought coffee from the farmers carry the bags on handcarts, bicycles and donkeys at night along the lonely footpaths leading to the border, where they meet small traders from the Kenya border town, Busia. It is a long border and cannot be adequately patrolled.

Concern has been roused in Kenya by the smugglers' practice of using small boys to carry messages and warnings of the presence of the

police. Some have left school to do this job which earns them a few shillings a week.

Some of these children, often as young as nine or ten, were recently brought to court at Busia charged with smuggling or aiding and abetting.

They all pleaded guilty. Some got off with minor fines of between 50 ngwee and K3. Others were acquitted because of their age.

There seems no end to the agonies of Uganda, and the drain away of its main means of livelihood is crippling the economy at a time when every ngwee is needed for rehabilitation.

Kenya is equally concerned, for it is losing substantial sums in customs dues and port charges. There is evidently a smuggling chain through Kenya, which the police are investigating, but so far they have come up against a brick wall.

With coffee prices running at more than K1,500 a tonne, far less than in the boom days of 1977 but good money all the same, some big, well established men are making a great deal of money and can afford to pay for their "protection". — GEMINI.

# OFFICIALS URGED TO SPEED UP STEPS TO ELECTION

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 23 Aug 80 p 4

[Editorial: "Polls Plan"]

[Text] Politics in Uganda is heading towards its climax. It has gone deep in the village and now the people are ready to go to the polls. The government is doing everything possible to ensure that the elections take place as scheduled.

While the politicians in the country redouble their efforts in campaigning for their party's success, the government continues to amend all the electoral laws. The NCC has, however, requested the government to table before it all the necessary amendments to the constitution of the Republic of Uganda and the electoral laws by August 27, 1980. All these are being done to ensure free and fair elections.

For any elections to be free and fair, all the laws regulating it must be in order and act as a principle guideline. In our case we need laws that are not controversial but precise. They must take into account the prevailing circumstances. We need the laws that will not leave us with doubts and raise concern.

We hope all the necessary arrangements will be completed soon. Registration will take place in the near future but up to now a number of issues have not been cleared. We are aware of the fact that Uganda has a large number of refugees in the country who are not in the refugee camps. These people are at large and are difficult to identify. Today it is difficult to know who is a Ugandan especially in the city and other urban towns. Graduated tax tickets are not enough to identify a Ugandan. We therefore request for the introduction of national registration cards with photographs. This must be sealed. This is difficult to obtain but if it could be obtained it is bound to produce clear results of the forthcoming elections.

The government announced some weeks ago that by the end of July all aspiring parliamentary candidates for the forthcoming elections will have



resigned. This has not yet taken place. It would be better if this decision was implemented soon otherwise it is bound to cause chaos especially if the candidates are allowed to continue up to the end of August.

We therefore call upon those who have been charged with organising the elections to speed up their work.

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## CONSTITUTIONALITY OF ELECTIONS CALLED IN QUESTION

Kampala THE CITIZEN in English 18 Aug 80 p 3

[Editorial: "What Constitution?"]

[Text] Currently there appears to be anxiety in some quarters regarding the issue of constitutions'. [as published] On one hand there are people who ask: 'under what constitution are we going to hold the forthcoming elections?' On the other hand there are people who find the anxiety built over the constitutional issue difficult to understand. Most people agree that neither the 1962 constitution nor the 1967 constitution is suited to the present day Uganda. The former is impracticable in as much as the institutions it specified (e.g. Mengo Lukiiko,) as having a vital role to play in the election exercise no longer existing. [as published] In fact many people agree that the method of indirectly electing representatives of one area of Uganda to Parliament as being out of step of current thinking.

In the same vein, the 1967 constitution is opposed both on the method it was introduced (having not been agreed to by the nation at large nor adequately debated by the national Parliament) as well as on its concentration of powers in the hands of the president of the country.

What all this boils down to is that Uganda needs a new constitution. Then the question is whether this should be drafted and passed before the elections or after. Democracy demands that the nation's constitution must be agreed upon by the majority of the people constituting the nation. The point is that someone or party must present a draft for the initial debate. This someone or party must be one who enjoys the trust of the people. What better method of identifying such party than through the ballot box? It is our contention that the elections should be held first and a government formed--enjoying the support of the country. It should then be that government to initiate a draft constitution and lead the debate both in the national legislature as well as in the country at large. When a final draft has been ironed out it will only remain to get ascent from the country either through the national legislature or through the system of a referendum.

This then puts additional importance on the forthcoming elections. The country must ensure that it puts a Party into Government which can be entrusted with the duty of drafting a constitution for the country.

It is for this reason that many of us have been agitating for elections as a matter of urgency. Ever since liberation the country has been ruled under nebulous instruments and constitutions. Sometimes it has been the 1967 constitution, at other times it has been the Moshi constitution and at yet other and at yet other times, it has been the 1980 Decree No. 1. [as published] This confusion can only be settled by holding elections and getting the new government to untangle the constitutional mess we find ourselves in.

Perhaps the people interested in this question should stop asking 'under what constitution are we going into the next election?'. [as published] They should rather ask the political party leaders what form of constitution they hope recommend to the people when they get into government. [as published] What appears to be agreed is that there is no constitution at the moment suitable to Uganda of the 1980. We should start hearing more about what each party envisages as the foundations of a Uganda Constitution of 1980 after the dictatorships of both Dr. Milton Obote and his creation Dr. Idi Amin Dada. (Doctors--my foot!)

CSO: 4420

## PARTIES SUBMIT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Kampala WEEKLY TOPIC in English 22 Aug 80 pp 1, 12

[Text] **AMIDST** the mounting public concern over whether the promised general elections can be held by September 30th, *Weekly Topic* has learned that the inter-party Legal Affairs Committee has already submitted its recommendations for amendments in the constitution. And it is understood that the Committee now hopes to complete the second part of its report, on the National Assembly Elections Act, within one week.

The Committee, set up in June after a meeting between the Military Commission and representatives of all four political parties, has been meeting since July 1st as an advisory body on legal affairs concerning the forthcoming elections.

Its recommendations will go to the four parties and to the ruling Military Commission before they are ultimately tabled for debate in the NCC.

No details of the recommendations drawn up so far were available. But reliable sources

have disclosed to *Weekly Topic* that they include constitutional aspects like lowering the age for voters and that for parliamentary candidates from 21 to 18 years. The qualifying age for presidential candidates remains 35.

Well placed sources say the major bone of contention within the committee now is whether Uganda should have direct presidential elections as one political party wants it to be; or if the country's president should automatically be the leader of the party controlling the majority of seats in parliament. "But this is a purely political decision and I hope a political settlement will be found to solve it", one source said, hinting that the matter might be put before the leaders of the political parties when they meet next with the Military Commission.

The inter-party committee is formed by lawyers from all four political parties. And observers hope that, barring unforeseen bottle-necks, the committee will complete its work within the "next ten days".

One significant observation made by observers over the slow progress in the work of the committee has been that the committee members have, in several instances, been forced from earlier decisions reached unanimously by the committee.

They cite the agreement reached by consensus with the Committee to recommend a single ballot box for all parties to prevent ballot rigging. According to these sources, one political party got second thoughts over the idea, went back on its commitment, and started demanding separate ballot boxes for each party "although they knew that this would be four times as expensive and would put the work of the Committee back to square one".

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LABOR MINISTER: PARASTATAL, PRIVATE PAY RAISES SOON

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 19 Aug 80 pp 1, 3

[Article by Asuman Nakendo]

[Excerpt] **WORKERS** of parastatal organisations and private firms are to get salary increases soon.

This was announced in Busembatia at the weekend by the minister of labour, Dr Luwuliza-Kirunda.

Addressing the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) rallies in Jinja and Busembatia towns, Kirunda said:

"Already, the government has regraded jobs in the civil service and given an interim award. In the same manner, we are working out a scheme for private companies and parastatal bodies.

"The increases are to be announced in two weeks time."

Kirunda told the workers and peasants; "We pledge our loyalty to you. This country's economy is sustained by your sweat and you deserve national respect for that."

"But I am surprised most of our friends in the DP (Democratic Party) do not want to accept and recognise your importance." He further charged that the president general of the DP, Dr P.K.

Semogerere had turned down an appointment as minister of labour on the pretext that it was an inferior ministry.

"How then can such a man lead the people if he despises the workers and peasants?" he asked.

Kirunda the UPC national organising chairman, assured the workers: "Once our party is voted into power we shall immediately rejuvenate the factories and create more jobs."

He said claims that the UPC wanted to introduce forced labour through the national service, were based on misconception. "This was intended for the good of the youths. We wanted them to acquire skills such as carpentry and shoe-making so that they could become job-makers rather than job-seekers.

"We could not have had 'bayaye' if the national service had been effected, nor could Idi Amin cling to power so long if all the youths had had military training."



TRADERS URGED TO CUT PRICES OF FOOD TO IMPROVE CURRENCY

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 19 Aug 80 p 4

[Editorial: "Cut Prices"]

[Text] Ousted dictator Idi Amin's contribution to traders who never dreamt of becoming businessmen is immense but the destruction to the consumers and the commonman is great. Exploitation of man by man and survival of the fittest are the current theme of trade in Uganda today. Trade competition therefore, died in Uganda by 1972 and today it has left a commonman helpless at the mercy of unscrupulous traders both in the market places and shops as he has no other trader with fair price.

The normal fixing of prices in the market according to economists is determined by the law of demand and supply of a particular commodity. But to that there are other factors that do affect the law. The state has the power of affecting prices of commodity by fixing the prices of the goods to be put on sale. This would mean, for it to succeed, the state has to act to curb the malpractice of trade being exercised by the traders in the country by setting up standard prices of commodities.

Prices of commodities in Uganda have gone out of hand and are taking their own course thus rendering it difficult for a greater percentage of the population to acquire basic commodities. One kilogram of posho in some places costs well above 60/-, one kilo of meat in certain areas costs well over 90/-, a bunch of matooke costs over 250/- just to mention a few. These prices are abnormal and they tend to lower the value of our currency. One wonders what the aim of the businessmen is. This is a broad day-light robbery being committed by indigenous Ugandans.

Following the recent declaration by the Military Commission that Ugandans especially of European and Asian origins should return and repossess their property and claim those they have lost, a number of Ugandan traders have raised their eyebrows in protest against this decision.

But it must be understood that this decision if implemented and succeeds, the consumers in this country are bound to get relieved and saved from

the hands of the so-called indigenous businessmen who want to get rich over night. The greater majority of our population is aware of the contribution of traders in nation building. The same traders can destroy a nation. It is being seen in Uganda today,

It is commendable that the Military Commission has called upon these Ugandans whose property was misappropriated by Amin's regime to claim them back. Most of these people are traders who were managing the trade atmosphere in Uganda and were rendering their services to the commonman. It is known that before the declaration of the so-called, Amin's economic war in 1972, we had traders who could sell bread to a common man at a price he can afford even if it was a luxury food to him.

The situation today needs to be cleared by the government. If this is done the value of our currency is bound to gain value.

CSO: 4420

FAMINE IN KARAMOJA COULD BE WORSE NEXT YEAR

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 19 Aug 80 pp 4, 5

[Article reprinted from AFRICA MAGAZINE No 108, August 1980]

[Text] The returning medical survey group described seeing emaciated people struggling along the roads even before reaching Namalu in the Karamoja region of Uganda. At the nearby mission, over a hundred starving people were waiting in hope of getting some food, among them severely marasmic infants, grossly emaciated four to seven-year old teenagers so weak from hunger that they could hardly stand and adults all showing signs of severe malnutrition. It appeared that in this area most children under four years old might already have died.

Deeper into the Karamoja area things were even worse. The journey from Namala to Amudat was punctuated by passing abandoned buildings ghost villages and empty health centres and schools.

In Moroto the starving were wandering listlessly in search of food. A food distribution point was surrounded by women waiting patiently in their manyatta growings. Unfortunately, there was not much to distribute. Most of the rations given out were eaten on the spot for fear of their being stolen.

The reception centre for children had about 100 severely marasmic three to nine year olds. It was difficult to tell the ages of the children their skin wrinkled and growth stunted. [as published] Some were dehydrated others going blind. Some were quietly dying.

The small children mostly orphans slept evidently on the cold cement floor of the building outside where a woman had just died in a pool of watery diarrhoea. As elsewhere in the Karamoja these people would require emergency medical help before they could begin really benefiting from incoming food aid.

UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) sources report that the relief situation has begun to improve in the past week or two but progress is

gradual. In cooperation with Save the Children, Caritas of Switzerland, and others, UNICEF has just set up the first of 7-10 nutrition rehabilitation centres.

Volunteer final-year medical students from the UK, provided by Save the Children, have already arrived at the first of these centres in Moroto. Lutheran World Federation has offered 70 tons of specialized foods for treatment of severe child malnutrition.

The UK has offered 20 tons of 'clinafeed', another specialized high-protein food which will be used for teenagers. The Netherlands is sending 500 tons of high protein biscuits.

An initial six months of medical supplies for the nutrition rehabilitation centres are being rushed from the UNICEF supply centre in Copenhagen in 'kit' form for easy transport. Meanwhile convoys of the World Food Programme (WFP) and CARE are reportedly beginning to penetrate again to Karamoja with emergency food provisions.

Two major problems persist; security and the eagerness of starving mother to abandon children in any place or to anybody better able to feed them. Security has deteriorated since the raiders who have been attacking convoys and stealing cattle by the hundreds of thousands are well-organised and often better armed than the minimal government forces in the area.

However, a high-ranking Ugandan military official has just assessed the security situation and has promised relief groups that new efforts will be made to assure the safety of convoys and nutrition centres.

Relief officials stress that even with the improved international awareness and aid for Karamoja, the crisis is far from over. With people too weak to do planting and most of the cattle gone, next year could be worse. Two years of effective national and international assistance without disruption or political support that, say the optimists, will be the minimum effort required.

CSO: 4420

## SUPPLIES MINISTRY, OTHERS ACCUSED OF CORRUPTION

Kampala WEEKLY TOPIC in English 8 Aug 80 pp 7, 9

[Article by Buzigi-Ekonyogo: "These Ministries of Magendo (corruption...")]

[Text] **MONSTERS** have invaded this beautiful country of ours. These monsters swallow endlessly everything that be. Essential commodities have long disappeared from proper markets. Nobody seems to know exactly where they go. Yet relevant sources reveal that a lot of foreign exchange was allocated to different importers to import urgently required essentials.

Many of such goods do arrive, supplemented by tonnes and tonnes of foods and other edibles donated by friendly countries to assist the people of Uganda, alleviate hunger and mass starvation being experienced as a result of the liberation war and long droughts.

But alas! We also know that goods are being smuggled out of the country as they come in. It is against this background that the logic underlying the creation of the Ministry of State for Supplies should be reviewed.

**WHOLE SET-UP WRONG**

Hungry and starving Ugandans greeted the new Ministry as parents would when a new baby appears in the family. It was with hope that there would be

equitable distribution of commodities to all traders and that the commodities would appear on the open market and at reasonable prices. But months of fruitless waiting for commodities have proved them wrong. In any case, it was a jump from the frying pan right into the fires.

No commodities have reached them and the little they can see is sold at prices beyond their reach. The whole set-up of this ministry is wrong, some of the people who work there are morally wrong and hence the whole essence of its creation has proved zero, except perhaps to those who established it. But to the ordinary Ugandan, this and some other ministries in this country have long lost their meaning, let alone the purpose for which they were established.

In such a situation there is nothing to stop anyone from recalling those old days of Amin when ministries, corporations and even public offices were created for the sake of satisfying (financially, the appointee and those who appointed). There is not much difference today.

Commodities handed to the Supplies Ministry for equitable distribution to all traders are instead allocated to wives of

"honourables" and to brief-case business-operators. Hence the price hikes as genuine traders have to buy from third parties in the effort to survive.

Whoever thought of the idea of creating a separate ministry of supplies "as a solution to poor distribution of goods", must be told in black and white that the so-called ministry is just a "Feeders Club", catering only for its well-to-do members. To the rest of Ugandans and who comprise of the thirteen million or so, the ministry exists only in name.

It is the same Central Allocation Committee — the famous state organ that has caused unaccountable miseries to poor Ugandans by swallowing endlessly all that appeared in the depots of Food and Beverages — that was upgraded to a ministerial status. The same "gentlemen" who served under it are the same people in the new ministry.

#### FALSE ALLOCATIONS

The fact that top government officials participate actively in magendo is no longer a secret. It is these "honourables" in collaboration with officials of relevant ministries who have maintained the wheel of magendo in motion. Information is available to the effect that besides authoritative chits to wives, girlfriends and brief-case business operators, another dubious method of "false allocation" is in operation in the new ministry of supplies.

Non-existent schools, organisations and Consumer Co-operative Societies have, for some time now, been on supply lists for various essential commodities. This "magendo network" interweaves some other ministries such as Education and Co-operatives. But all roads lead to the Rehabilitation and Supplies Ministries.

Quite a number of commodities that have been officially allocated by the Supply ministry, have been to dubious organisations, schools and individuals. Some of these commodities have been intercepted by officials of UNLF, Kampala Branch while on their way to Kikuubo or elsewhere. In most cases all the goods such as Ugil shirts for school uniforms, baking flour, sugar, salt, toilet papers, cooking oil etc that are intercepted are found to have been obtained on false documents. The remarkable work of the Kampala UNLF branch in combating these economic evils reminds one of the effectiveness of the Ten-Home Cell and vigilante units which the Front had set up to, among other things, fight smuggling and magendo. Such units have all disappeared now. Thus a steady worsening of the economic situation.

Many a time the school does not exist or the allocation is given to a wrong headteacher. Although the Ministry of Education is supposed to compile a list of all the existing schools and submit it to the Ministry of State for Supplies, many allocations are going into wrong hands. Some of the schools on the list are non-existent and this is the work of some officials in the Education Ministry in collaboration with some crooks in the Ministry of Supplies.

Surprisingly when such people are caught, except for confiscating the goods and even refunding the culprit with the total official cost price of the goods, nothing much is done although the false documents are found to bear the correct signatures of the officers where the goods are allocated.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from such an act of reluctance to punish the culprits is that all those who should have done it belong to the same



"Feeders Club". All roads lead to somebody BIG. Would it not be a very interesting case if a thief punished a fellow thief? Nevertheless the rich are getting richer while the poor poorer.

### FREE RELIEF AID SOLD

One interesting, but shameful aspect of it all is the fact that relief aid commodities that are donated by friendly countries and organisations to needy Ugandans and to be given free of charge, are being allocated to individuals in great quantities and put on sale!

Hunger and mass starvation have invaded parts of this country, particularly because of long droughts climaxed by the liberation war. Yet surprisingly some greedy and selfish Ugandans divert this relief aid to magendo!

Millions of Ugandans have not tasted the fruits of liberation. Latest reports from the most hunger-stricken areas of north-eastern Uganda reveal that the death rate has risen to seven hundred a day and is still rising. Selfish as we have proved to be, several SOS that we sent across the seas for assistance have proved useless as most of the aid so given is diverted from the original purpose for which it is given. SHAME!

The gloomy picture we so paint for the international community to see and hence assist us shows clearly that all is not well in this country. But we forget to diplomatically inform them that the situation facing us now is of our own making. What logic is there to allocate one hundred bags of baking flour or 500 tins of cooking oil to a wife of a "honourable" for her to sell on magendo in Kampala while 700 Karamojong are dying everyday because of lack of food?

Yet such goods are clearly marked NOT FOR SALE! What logic is there to allocate ten 100 kilogramme bags of sugar to a person who owns neither shop nor trading licence? Or what sort of common sense does some Ugandans have to allocate 100 bags of baking flour to a Mrs "Honourable" so and so who was never allocated a shop or bakery since the family came back from exile? Africans have extended families, but the bitter truth is no family can consume all that chapati or cake, even for a year!

Every thing in this country seems to be going wrong and those entrusted with responsibility don't care a damn. The once rich and prosperous country - "The Pearl of Africa" has been reduced to a begging nation.

Ugandans are sickened with such ministries that are purportedly created to serve their cause, but instead become instruments of enrichment for the few. The government would have done a better service to starving Ugandans if, instead of creating such ministries, bothered to police our borders so that goods imported in the country do not find their way back to Kenya or to Rwanda and Zaire.

The Ministry of Commerce would only know what arrives in the country and by what importer, fix the prices and let that importer sell freely to all retail traders. As long as the borders are policed the importer will sell here. And in the long run, prices will stabilise. But this system of issuing chits to non-business people and allocation to selected traders by the Supply Ministry only enhances magendo. STOP SMUGGLING AND LET THE MARKET FORCES TAKE THEIR TURN.

## GOVERNMENT SAID UNABLE TO PROTECT AID ORGANIZATIONS

Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Isabelle Vichniac: "Famine in Karamoja; The Government is Unable to Insure the Protection of Representatives of Aid Organizations"]

[Text] Geneva. United Nations circles in Geneva confirm the decision of the resident of the United Nations development program in Kampala to interrupt aid operations in Karamoja Province where, let us recall, a convoy of the United Nations Refugee Commission was attacked on 25 July.

Considering the prevailing insecurity on Ugandan territory, the commission was forced to interrupt its activities in the country despite the considerable number of "displaced persons" (refugees in their own country) who are receiving United Nations aid (LE MONDE, 3-4 August). It has been intimated at the Palace of Nations that this interruption may be for an "indeterminate period." The fact is that all humanitarian organizations want to insure the protection of their representatives in the area, a protection which the Ugandan government is unable to provide.

## Adequate Logistic Means

Nevertheless, it appears that the Red Cross will continue its traditional aid activities to the extent to which it is possible. Back from Karamoja, Jean-Michel Goudstikker, in charge of Red Cross information, stated the following:

"The famine afflicting this province cannot be considered as a disaster exclusively caused by natural calamities such as drought. Naturally, the drought is causing considerable harm. However, we could no longer ignore the phenomenon of self-destruction in Karamoja. Thus, the biggest cattle rustlers are the Karamajongs themselves. At the present time they have progressed from the amateur to the organized stage. Previously, they rustled cattle in small numbers, moving from one village to another, without the stolen cattle leaving the area. Following the looting of an armory in Moroto, the biggest settlement in Karamoja, the looters have conducted operations on a grand scale: the loot consists of several thousand head of cattle per raid, followed by the destruction of the attacked village and the massacre of its defenders, including women and

children. Famine has developed since cattle is the only food resource of men and adolescents who eat only the blood and the milk of the bovine stock. Women and children consume vegetal food. However, virtually nothing has been planted in the rural areas where insecurity and fear reign. Furthermore, the areas in crops have been ravaged by the violent short rains in May, preceding the current period of intensified drought.

"It is unquestionable, however, to any person or organization that the resumption of aid distribution is an absolute necessity. Every day spent without food results in innumerable deaths, whereas until 25 July the activities of all aid organizations provided the hope that famine could be substantially reduced."

According to information reaching Geneva the local logistic facilities are adequate to channel such aid. There is also sufficient food to insure the survival of the Karamoja population for a month. Yet, the chronic insecurity could discourage the initiatives of humanitarian institutions.

5157

CSO: 4400

# PROBLEMS OF FREIGHT BOTTLENECK IN MOMBASA OUTLINED

Kampala WEEKLY TOPIC in English 8 Aug 80 pp 6, 7

[Article by John Joseph Lule: "The Price of Being Land-Locked"]

[Text] Uganda's transport headache about her imports and exports seems to be getting acute while at the same time the colossal sums of money needed for the clearing and forwarding of Uganda's cargo which is now lying at the Kenyan port of Mombasa is putting the country's financial potential on extra strains.

The piles of Uganda cargo at Mombasa, have raised so much concern, that the government is considering a reduction in the importation of general cargo from abroad until such a time when most of our goods now lying at Mombasa can be cleared and forwarded to the appropriate destinations within the country.

Good-will on the part of Kenya authorities and clearing and forwarding firms, could go a long way to the improvement of the already strained economy of the country, and to the streamlining of operational facilities between Kenya and Uganda.

various relevant institutions in Kenya which have direct business connections with his Ministry.

The Transport Minister is understood to have done a thorough job, delving into the whole clearing and forwarding field during his stay both in Nairobi and Mombasa.

## GOODWILL LACKING

It is unfortunate, at the moment, to say that this good will is lacking in certain quarters, that even up to now charges for the services rendered on Uganda's goods are normally decided upon by the Kenyan authorities alone with little say or none at all by their Ugandan counterparts — the price of being land-locked!

It was solely because of this, that the new Transport Minister, Mr. Kintu Musoke recently flew to Kenya to have an on-the-spot assessment of the problem and familiarising himself with the

Although tentative talks were held between him and Kenyan officials it cannot be claimed that positive conclusions leading to better handling and transporting procedures were adopted. Definitely there was willingness on part of the Kenyans to meet and discuss matters with him but there was lack of enthusiasm and commitment on the issue by most of them.

For instance when the long standing questions of giving Uganda credit facilities at the port or waiving certain port charges were raised, the Kenyan

officials could only make a promise to the Uganda Minister. They only said that they would provide favourable recommendation to their government as regards the subject.

The same was the case with similar discussions with the Kenya rail officials, when the Minister asked for their assistance in the exercise of conveying from the port to Uganda goods which were most urgently required for the country's rehabilitation efforts. The Kenyans said they could only help in the matter if both countries first tried to get the spare parts and other components from the suppliers for Kenyan locomotives, 9 of which were in bad shape.

But in the case of Kenya-railway's attitude, one could easily see the reason for their complacency in the matter. While railways services between the two countries were said by V. Hoyer as being rudimentary in his report on Transocean, he also said that there is a lot of "bad feeling" arising from the unresolved question of distribution of the joint property of the former East African Community. Kenya kept the lion's share of the assets when the Community broke up.

Mr. V. Hoyer is an ILO Chief Technical Adviser, now working with the Ministry of Transport. He said in his report which he compiled for the Ministry of Transport and the ILO office in Geneva, that, until now no Kenyan railway wagon crosses the border to Uganda, and Uganda railways wagons can hardly be used freely for transportation of Uganda goods to and from Mombasa, as within Kenya the same charges have to be paid to Kenya railways as if they were using one of their wagons, and that Kenya railways are reluctant to allocate additional wagons (from the joint property) to transport Ugandan goods.

Mr. Hoyer's report continues to state that the main transportation has to be done by road, whereby Transocean (Uganda) Limited, having been once one of the biggest haulage companies, plays now only a very minor role with regard to transit transportation of Uganda goods due to loss of a large number of vehicles during the war. Presently only about 20 vehicles are plying the Mombasa-Kampala route thus leaving the major portion of the road transport business to private Kenya-based haulage companies, for which the foreign exchange has to be made available by the Bank of Uganda.

### MINCED NO WORDS

Mr. Hoyer's report couldn't therefore have come at a better time than now. Although it solely dealt with Transocean (Uganda) Limited and problems associated with Kenya-Uganda transport, it generally appraised Uganda's transport problem as regards her imports and exports as well. He made certain recommendations which, if adopted, could go a long way in improving the clearing and forwarding sector of Uganda's economy.

Before Mr. Kintu Musoke left Kenya for home, he is understood to have held talks with clearing agents in Mombasa. He minced no words. He told them point blank that reciprocation was expected of them since, as he said, most of them had been given large sums of money to clear Uganda goods in advance.

To those companies which were sulking because of the money Uganda owed them, the Minister said that the temporary financial difficulties experienced at the moment, should not discourage them, as the situation was bound to improve as the coffee season starts to pick up.

Most clearing agents, however complained of the delay of documentation from the suppliers and importers and complained of delays in payment from the Bank of Uganda. They demanded improvement in documentation handling prior to dispatch from Uganda to Mombasa.

But one other thing the clearing agents forgot to tell the Minister was the reason as to why they charge 1.5% c.i.f. value on our goods, whereas only 0.5% is officially charged by the Kenya Officials. This shows that some of these clearing firms have also been playing tricks on the unknowing Ugandan Importer, which have resulted in the country losing millions of shillings of the vital foreign exchange. These clearing and forwarding firms which are entrusted with the clearing of Uganda goods should live up to their expected standards, true they are profit making companies but this should be no reason for them to cheat.

Maybe our licensing process is not all that good, and we may have to adopt the advice given by Mr. Hoyer, who recommended a revision in the import licensing of goods. He considered Rwanda's system as being a lot better than Uganda's

## RWANDA'S SYSTEM BETTER

He said that while issuing an import licence in Rwanda, Clearing and Forwarding agents must be named in advance and a proforma invoice by the agents for all charges and commissions has to be presented. Then the required foreign exchange is allocated to the clearing and forwarding agent well in advance, and all documents needed for clearing (Original Bill of Lading, Invoice of the goods or certificate of Value, Original Marine Insurance Certificate, if any) are also sent straight to the clearing and forwarding agent, thus allowing him to go at once through the whole clearing procedures before the goods have even arrived in the port. Consequently, on arrival, the goods can immediately be taken out of the port and transported to their final destination without delay. In this way the amount of foreign exchange transferred to the clearing and forwarding agent does not therefore, include any provisions for demurrage charges or customs warehouse rent.

The benefits of this arrangement as expounded by Mr. Hoyer cannot be over emphasised, and this can go a long way in curing our transport headache which does not seem to abate.



'THE ECONOMY' BACK IN PUBLICATION AFTER LONG ABSENCE

Kampala THE ECONOMY in English Vol 1 No 36, Aug 80 p 1

[Letter "From the Editorial Board"]

[Text] Dear Friends,

We address you as friends because those who read THE ECONOMY are more than readers--YOU ARE OUR FRIENDS. It is now over three months that you've been unable to hear from us, and unfortunately circumstances did not permit us to let you know of our abrupt suspension of publishing your Household newspaper. We sincerely apologise for this but as friends you must forgive us.

Those who witnessed the birth of THE ECONOMY will vividly recall our first Editorial in which we knew quite in advance that "we had entered the turbulent world of journalism." [as published] The risks are high but even the stakes are so! We met what professionally are known as 'occupational hazards.'

We take this special opportunity to thank the Chairman and constituent members of the Military Commission for their positive spirit and magnanimity exercised in a critical situation as it was. Indeed, we are even more grateful that the current Government Administration has continued to expand the latitudes of the FREE PRESS.

We resume the publication of THE ECONOMY in the middle of a severe political campaign. It will require us some time to catch up with the issues as are expounded upon by the four political leaders namely Dr. Milton Obote, ex-President of Uganda and leader of UPC; Mr. Paul Semwogerere, President General of the Democratic Party, Mr. Yoweri Museveni, Interim Chairman of the Uganda Patriotic Movement and Mr. Mayanja-Nkangi Chairman of the Conservative Party. [as published]

The current challenges facing the leaders of these respective political parties are formidable but they are not insurmountable. In this issue



we have in absence of official manifestos thrown the economic challenge to our future leaders. The Analysis of our economic problems has not been extensive but has been narrowed down to simple essentials to facilitate an easy political debate.

Now, Gentlemen who has the key to the economic miracle? [as published]

We wish you a good reading!

CSO: 4420

# MINE WORKERS' STRIKE AVERTED, OTHER UNIONS SET TO STRIKE

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 6

[Text] Lusaka--The Zambian Government has narrowly averted a major mine-workers' strike but workers in other industries are set to demand higher wages and better working conditions.

Zambia's economy has already suffered from 120 illegal strikes in the past 18 months and President Kaunda has put the unemployment figure at "close to three million".

Now the Civil Servants' Union of Zambia (CSUZ), has declared a dispute with the Government because of the creation of a Government commission of inquiry into the public workers' plight, reports the Herald Africa News Service.

These unionists regard the commission as a threat to free negotiations between workers and management and claim that the commission seeks to pre-empt union responsibility for its members.

Negotiations between this union and the Government for a new package deal were nearly complete earlier this year when the Government pulled out of talks and appointed the commission.

While these Zambian civil servants express their dissatisfaction, Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) chairman Mr Frederick Chiluba, an out-spoken champion of Zambian labourers, has thrown his support behind the CSUZ calls.

He has also attacked reports that the Government intends to reduce the size of the civil service.

"The truth is that the Government has an obligation to create employment. When it fails, you must fight for social justice," he said.

Now diplomats say that, in spite of successful negotiations with the mine and mineworkers, the country's 340 000 other organised workers are going to start demanding a better living.

CSO: 4420

## ZVONGO ISSUES WARNING ON ELECTIONS

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 4 Sep 60 p 1

[Text] Anyone attempting to create chaos and usurp law and order during November's local authority elections was promised harsh treatment by Local Government and Housing Minister, Mr Edison Zvobgo, in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He was asked during debate on his Ministry's vote by Mr John Nkomo (PF, Matabeleland North) what steps were being taken to ensure that the elections would not be disrupted by violence, as already, he said, there had been a wave of mailings, of murder and kidnappings in clashes between rival political party supporters, reports last.

Mr Nkomo told the Minister it was not sufficient to provide housing for people if they could not live in safety.

## REVIEW

Mr Zvobgo replied that the matter was really one

for Dr Joshua Nkomo, the Minister of Home Affairs, in his capacity as head of the police force, but he said that both he and Dr Nkomo were on a Cabinet committee on public order that met each week with senior police officers to review "the general public order situation in the country".

"It is clearly desirable that these elections are peaceful and that persons who are planning to take advantage of the elections to cause chaos and breaches of law and order should be aware they will be dealt with very severely," he said.

CSO: 4420

## CHURCHES REACT TO PRESIDENT'S CALL

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Text] Senior clergymen in Zimbabwe, reacting to President Banana's call for a radical transformation of the Church to serve the broad interests of the people, yesterday defended their organisations' record of service to the country.

Opening a clergy revival conference in Salisbury this week, the President stressed the need for a "people's church" that would accommodate indigenous culture and beliefs and take part in the country's reconstruction and development.

Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the United Methodist Church said yesterday he agreed that all Christians had to involve themselves in the development of all people.

Bishop Muzorewa said of his church: "We have identified with the President's role for the Church in Zimbabwe over the past 15 years.

"The Methodist Church had been integrated from top to bottom for many years and had been the first to elect a black bishop.

"Wherever people need and if the Government wants us to work side by side to build on development of the country the Methodist Church will assist," Bishop Muzorewa said.

The Bishop of Mashonaland, the Rev. Paul Burrough, who chaired the opening session of the revival conference, said yesterday: "The President's remarks were well received in a very friendly atmosphere."

Impressed

He denied that President Banana had "waged a bitter attack" on the clergy at the conference.

Bishop Burrough said the Anglican Church had been involved in the affairs of the country since 1890.

"The President was impressed with what we were doing.

"But," he added, "the Church is nothing unless it is first committed to Christ and the gospel, otherwise it will merely be a shadow of the State."

Commenting on President Banda's call for greater Church participation in education and irrigation projects, the Bishop of Matabeleland, the Rt Rev. Robert Mercer, said: "The Church can no more promote irrigation schemes without money than the Government can. If His Excellency would care to provide the money we would be happy to promote them.

### INVOLVED

"In the meantime, ecumenical agencies such as Christian Care are actively engaged in work of this kind."

The Dutch Reformed minister in Bulawayo, the Rev. Johan Kriel, said his church was similarly involved in education.

"The suggestion about educational programmes is what we have been doing in this country all along. Apart from that, I cannot comment."

A spokesman for the Roman Catholic Church in Zimbabwe said yesterday: "The President's remarks are most welcome, being those of a fellow Christian, especially in his advocacy of opposition to discrimination and oppression, and of openness to indigenous values."

### STRIVES

"The Catholic church, together with other Christian churches, has always endeavoured to put these attitudes into practice."

The Catholic church strives continuously to adapt itself to serve the people, in every land and in every age.

"This process, although often retarded by the human frailty of Christians, takes place under the guidance of the Holy Spirit of God."

CSO: 4420

## PLAN TO BALANCE BUDGET REPORTED

Salisbury THE HERALD-BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

**A MAJOR assault is to be made on the growing Budget deficit. Finance Minister Senator Enos Nkala has announced, hinting that he might even aim for a balanced Budget within three years.**

Speaking to financiers at the economic resources conference being held at the University of Zimbabwe, the Minister said: "Revenues, for the first time in five years, are showing a return to growth. I expect the growth to continue. This, together with a wider and I think more equitable spread of taxation, has improved the budgetary position."

"It is my intention and that of the Government to maintain a strict control of expenditure and to ensure that the budget deficit is brought into proper alignment by 1982-83 at the latest."

Enlarging on this Senator Nkala said that among his objectives he set out to "ensure that subsequent Budget deficits will be contained to more manageable levels by securing a meaningful expansion of the economy, and a strict control of expenditure".

This country has had a deficit every year since 1970, the smallest being \$7 million in 1971-72. This year the estimated deficit is \$485 million.

The Minister also indicated that balance of payments pressures would intensify, in turn making it difficult for him to cut down on the Budget deficit.

He dwelt on invisibles becoming larger every year. Last year there was net deficit of \$205 million on these with services, principally foreign travel and freight insurance, making up the largest part.

It is to exports that the Minister is looking to improve the balance of payments which, on capital and current account, showed a deficit of \$700 000 compared with a surplus of \$85 million last year. Exports are expected to grow by 10 per cent this year, but imports will rise by 55 per cent.

One target of the expected pruning in expenditure will undoubtedly be vote appropriations to Ministries. It is thought a clamp-down could be made on the level of salary rises for civil servants.

Government salaries are estimated to be \$346 million for the year to June 30 next year.

Senator Nkala also repeated his policy of severe restrictions on currency allocations for luxuries. However, he said industrialists must be given the chance to capitalise so as to be able to catch up with the rest of the world.

For the first time he put a timescale on ending the import control system, with a minimum of five years needed "before the entire system of import controls, per se, can be dismantled".

Exchange control will be kept for even longer, with blocked funds being the main inhibiting factor. The Minister said that nonetheless great strides had been made in easing the restrictions.

## MINING INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENTS, OUTLOOK REPORTED

Salisbury THE HERALD-BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 pp 3-12

[Selected articles from a "Mining Survey"]

[Excerpt] Buying Boom in Industrials and Minings

**SHARE** investors have become almost dizzy in the past 12 days as the mining and and industrial indices have risen extremely strongly.

The industrial index pushed through the 400 barrier for the first time but in the last week has reached the hitherto undreamt of 420 level. Mining has likewise reacted strongly but not as steeply, with a three percent gain against five percent for industrials.

The resurgence of buying is put down to two factors — the tremendous amount of liquidity and, as usual, the absence of other avenues of investment.

Of course, behind this lies market confidence. It seems as though the repeated assurances by the Government on no nationalisation have been heeded. From the hundreds of private interviews and public statements it has become clear that there is no sinister motive behind the Government's financial policies.

Indeed the Budget preceded as it was by gloom and dire warnings, gave the lie to that. Since

the message by the Minister of Finance, Senator Enos Nkala, that Zimbabwe was looking to equity participation and not takeover, investors have reacted first with glimmerings of hope and then with the realisation that he was sincere.

The message was repeated in a different form this week when the Minister told delegates to the international economic resources conference that they should have confidence in the economy.

As regards the slightly more muted reaction from the mining sector, a certain logic is apparent. The uncertain fluctuations in gold price and commodity prices have made it risky for investors to start switching.

Then too there are the obvious high dividends which mining shares continue to enjoy. So investors hang on to what they have and there is a resultant shortage of scrip — the index cannot rise that much anyway.



**A HUGE capital development programme is necessary for the mining industry if it is to achieve its \$1 000 million target by 1990. This is one of the two biggest problems facing the country's brightest economic jewel.**

The other problem is the long standing shortage of skilled labour, but there are positive signs that companies are putting more effort into training people from Zimbabwe rather than relying on foreign recruitment.

Capital equipment is a problem more easily solved in the short term but one with a more doubtful commitment by entrepreneurs.

They will pour in the extra cash only if convinced they will get greater rate of return from the capital employed.

At present they are doing well with the outdated but still useful plant they have, mainly because of good commodity prices.

There is no doubt that to keep costs down in the long run capital replacement is a must. If the mines wait too long there is a danger of falling returns, because of costs catching up with profits making it financially difficult to get new equipment.

Prices of machinery are rising all the time, too, and it is better to re-equip now than wait.

Against this is the need to provide as much employment as possible.

As the second biggest employer after agriculture, mining is a source of bread and butter to hundreds of thousands of people.

Modern equipment is heavily labour saving and more efficient machines are built every year, so people could be put out of jobs by mechanisation.

Some compromise has to be reached.

An idea of how much it costs for capital projects is the annual "price" of the industry — Shabane's \$100 million estimate will be opened by the Minister of Mines and Energy Resources recently.

The future is as much in the hands of the Government, represented by us, as it is determined by economic and technical factors.

The Government has clearly realised that much of our foreign currency lies in effect below the ground and is keen to develop mining.

Positive assurances have been made that there will be no State takeover of mines, although there will probably be involvement of some sort.

Against this background investors are in turn heartened and should be willing to increase their stakes in the country.

There would go towards not only the existing minerals such as copper, asbestos, gold and chrome, but in development of new ones.

Prime targets would be platinum, now known to exist in large quantities, and uranium.

The latter has an uncertain future as no extensive exploration has been made.

But it is thought there is some in the north-west of the country's takeover of a supposedly rich deposit in Zambira.

There is also coal. This could become the biggest money spinner in the country. Wapora is but a small part of the national reserves and equally extensive deposits are waiting to be tapped in the south-east.

World consumption of coal is rising particularly in Japan and South Africa has been quick to cash in on this.

It is exporting through Richard's Bay and production is it will eventually overtake gold when the metal's output declines towards the end of the century.

Happily exploration in the country is reviving. Dozens of estimate pre-feasibility studies are in the pipeline and several have been granted.

The momentum must be allowed to continue or the country will suffer but it does not appear as if there is any slackening off.

Coupled with this, is technical research, mainly at the Institute of Mining Research at the University of Zimbabwe. This unit has gone from strength to strength, despite severe disruptions.

Fields of research include metallurgy, economic geology, mineralogy and rock mechanics.

Support from all sectors for its work has been good, but now it needs to be better. New facilities are needed and the institute also wants to branch out into new fields so it can keep up with both world trends and the demands of the industry.

Much more money is needed for this and mining houses seeking to increase yearly grants to various organisations could do no better than the institute.

There has been no let up either in commercial field research. Lonrho has pioneered the carbon-in-pulp gold treatment process here which will be of especial benefit to small workers (lower capital costs) as well as improving recovery rates.

AECI has opened the country's first industrial cyanide plant outside the Gold Fields. There are a number of others in the pipeline.

the 1940s which closed down when the Second World War broke out.

Both these developments mean the country is keeping abreast of changing technology and also represent a saving in foreign currency.

In the end this is what the future of the country is all about. The more that can be saved and the more that can be brought in ensures our economic development.

Mining is the one sure way of achieving this.

[By Des Parker: "More Trained Men Urgently Needed"]

**MINING** faces a short-term shortage of trained manpower which the Government hopes to alleviate by the greater use of semi-skilled workers.

The largest and most crucial area of shortage is in the field of trained artisans due to the effects of emigration, security-force call-ups and the limitation on the number which can be facilitated at the technical colleges in Salisbury, and Bulawayo, says the chief executive of the Chamber of Mines, Mr Ken Vanderplank.

There was no lack of volunteers to train as apprentices. "For example, if we wanted 10 men we would probably get 400 applicants", he said.

The mines presently had 800 apprentices at various stages of their four or five year apprenticeships.

"In this respect, the Ministry of Manpower, Planning and Development is helping with its stated intention of boosting the capacity of the technical colleges — there is also a new one under construction in Que Que at the moment," said Mr Vanderplank.

"In the long term we will sort this one out because training facilities are being expanded and even the lack of qualified

teaching staff is not insuperable.

"The problem is in the short term because it will be some years before the chaps at present doing apprenticeship are all qualified."

He said the Ministry's solution to this was to "make greater and more intelligent use of the large pool of semi-skilled workers that are about."

Many of these people had received in-job training and were capable of doing more than they were presently permitted to do.

This was "new thinking" from a Government point of view as previously the trade unions had strongly resisted "unqualified people doing qualified jobs".

"While we as an industry wouldn't like to see these limits removed entirely, there is a strong case for these men to be able to do more than they are presently permitted to."

Mr Vanderplank said that for the industry to expand as it was hoped it would with the availability of minerals, the skilled manpower pool would have to be enlarged.

"As things stand, there are not enough skilled people to even maintain the existing rate of production," he said.

Mr Vanderplank said the industry also had a need for degree qualified workers in the fields of engineering, metallurgy, mechanical and electrical engineering and geology.

"As far as the industry is concerned, these people just don't exist."

"There is a world-wide shortage in the field of mining metallurgy," he said. "The job is very well paid, but isn't popular. The trend today is to become an economist."

Most of the major mining groups in Zimbabwe offered university scholarships for engineering courses but most years these were not all taken, said Mr Vanderplank.

However a four-year "sandwich course" in the study of mechanical and electrical engineering was available with the school of mining at the Bulawayo Technical College.

Students qualified for diplomas from the Institute of Electrical Engineers and the Institute of Mining Engineers.

"Learnership contracts" of up to two years were offered for trainee plant operators and miners and between 150 and 200 men qualified in Zimbabwe every year.

If an employee was found to be suitable after completing the learnership course in one of several

fields. He could go on to do a two-year middle management course at the Bulawayo mining school.

A six-month learnership scheme registered with the NIC for semi-skilled miners to learn certain aspects of a trade was also available with large mining concerns, Mr Vanderplank said.

All major mining groups within Zimbabwe had training schemes where they co-ordinated training at all levels within their organisation.

For completely untrained, uneducated students there is intensive training given "teaching the right way to handle a shovel underground."

The mining industry was having a bite on training because it involves skilled labour should be found within the country and not imported in the form of expatriates.

The education future of the country and of the mining industry lies in training what is available and not relying on bringing people from outside.

"We should become self-sufficient," said Mr Vanderplank.

"But for speeded-up emigration in recent times, we would be in this position, with the exclusion of engineering degrees which are not available in this country."

"Very few of the people being trained here are immigrants, and all new employees are locally trained. The only problem is that the existing employees have been leaving faster than we are training new ones," he added.

## A Booming Start for Explosives Industry

ZIMBABWE'S explosives industry got off to a booming start last month when mining leaders, Government officials and technicians were shown slurry explosives power at the country's first manufacturing plant.

A \$1 million slurry plant built at Samwari outside Que Que by AECI is the forerunner of a thriving business in Zimbabwe.

Although new to the country and having some big advantages over dry, site based types, they will probably not take over from these completely.

AECI managing director, Mr Mike White, says production is presently a net exporter but will become an export in volume growth.

### SAFER

Cheaper, safer, environmental forms, they are called slurry explosives. They are as safe as water and are as self-healing as concrete in them. In fact they are also extremely water resistant.

However, their efficiency is often up to 20% when used for small diameter blasting and this, like they are not as safe as water.

and also because they are a much safer product.

Probably the biggest advantage for this country is the fact that it is an indigenous largely the ammonium nitrate which comes from S.A.R. (South Africa).

It is also a very safe product and supply controlled. The country's first slurry plant is being built at Samwari and will cost \$1 million. It will be a foreign company.

Mr White says the new plant, besides speeding the change of slurry, is the production of having an explosive with a top class and much better safety than conventional.

It is also a very safe product and supply controlled. The country's first slurry plant is being built at Samwari and will cost \$1 million.

It is also a very safe product and supply controlled. The country's first slurry plant is being built at Samwari and will cost \$1 million.

### EXPORT

South Africa has the biggest explosives industry in the world which is supported by the huge market. It has been able to develop its own technology and export a considerable amount because it was big to begin with.

Because there is a big demand for explosives in the world, it is a very big industry. It is a very big industry and it is a very big industry.

At the moment, the explosives industry is not as big as it was in the past. It is a very big industry and it is a very big industry.

It is a very big industry and it is a very big industry. It is a very big industry and it is a very big industry.

## Small Workers--Backbone of the Industry

**THE** mining small-worker is an indispensable contributor to the Zimbabwean economy and since the country's independence his industry has been flourishing.

There are about 280 smallworkings employing some 10000 men in the country and since independence in April more prospecting licences have been taken out and more claims registered than since the last peak interest period before the war.

The chairman of the Mashonaland Mining Association which represents 40 smallworkers — about 90 percent of the small miners in the province — is Mr "Box" Tselentis, himself a smallworker near Salisbury.

He described the "versatile and necessarily optimistic" smallworkers as the backbone of the Zimbabwean mining industry.

Mr Tselentis said he expected to see more smallworking opening. "There has been a tremendous upsurge in the industry since April."

Of the wide variety of minerals mined, including tin, tantalite, beryl, semi-precious stones, scheelite and wolfram (tungsten), mica, barites, feldspar and silica, gold is the most prolifically mined and accounts for the large majority of production.

### REFORM

The hugely increased gold price, which now fluctuated around the U.S. \$800 an ounce level, was largely responsible for renewed interest in smallworking which had resulted in Mr Tselentis' decision in March 1977 to reform the Mashonaland Mining Association.

"After the price started to climb, interest increased in smallworking and there was a lot of activity in the known gold belts in Mashonaland."

Mr Tselentis said he believed the smallworker was responsible for more than 20 percent of the country's mineral output and Government provided a range of services to assist him, rather than recognition of this.

The Government metallurgical laboratories assisted the smallworkers with all reduction and beneficiation problems, and also provided a free assay service.

"Tremendous support and guidance are given by the Government geologists, surveyors and engineers in the development of our mines."

"The Mining Commissioner and his staff are always ready to help but particularly with regard to legal problems," said Mr Tselentis.

Mr Tselentis would like to see the Ministry get a larger vote.

### SMALLEST

Keeping in mind that the Ministry of Mines and Energy Resources has the smallest vote of all the ministries — \$4 004 000 — and the mines contribute about \$300 million annually, seems rather unfair, he said.

It cost between \$120 000 and \$140 000 to bring into operation a smallworking capable of mining and milling 20 tonnes of ore-bearing rock a day.

"However, once you're established, you stand a far better chance than just about anybody of making a fortune, or losing one. That is why the smallworker has to be a hardy adventurer."

Mr Tselentis said the Mashonaland Mining Association which was one of seven similar bodies representing the country's smallworkers, was headed by a committee of three.

Mr Danny Hogan was the vice-chairman and Mrs Tselentis acted as secretary at the Association's tri-annual meetings in Salisbury.

### MOUTHPIECE

"At these meetings, we have representatives from all sectors of the mining industry, the Ministry and the Chamber of Mines and we act as the mouthpiece for the small man."

"We inform members of developments in our industry and they (the members) bring their problems to us," said Mr Tselentis.

He said Zimbabwean smallworkers had progressed beyond the "pick and shovel" stage and today's men had highly sophisticated mines.

The majority of the men were blacks trained on the job and like their employers were skilled and versatile.

"They make excellent supervisors — comparable to those on larger mines — and being smallworkers there is no room for specialisation," said Mr Tselentis.

"If these circumstances are maintained, there is no reason why the smallworker should not really come into his own and continue to make a considerable contribution to the wellbeing of the economy and the country as a whole."

## Money Talks--Small Ball or Stamp Mill?

THE QUESTION of relative costs is delaying the Ministry of Mines decision whether to reintroduce stamp batteries or to concentrate on small ball mill production for small workings.

At a meeting of the Mashonaland Mining Association in May, a discussion was held concerning the merits of re-introducing stamp batteries.

The majority of members favoured this type of grinding plant, but the Regional Mining Engineer for Salisbury, Mr P. Garland, felt that the re-introduction of stamp batteries would be a backward step and was in favour of small ball mill production.

"A small ball mill would be far more suitable than a stamp battery," said Mr Garland, "and it would also be cheaper."

Stamp batteries are still in use at various mines throughout the country, but investigations have been carried

out into the viability of introducing small ball mills.

Initial estimates for the cost of manufacturing a small ball mill ranged from £10 000 to £12 000 for a 1450 lb. weight of the machine in pounds model, which would be suitable for use on a working mine, to about £5 000 for a 1000 model for prospecting.

The Ministry is, however, considering a prototype, which may be put into the field for £5 000, but experimentation is still under-way.

The mortar-box of a stamp battery, the base of the stamp where the ore is ground, would cost about £6 000 and the total cost of a stamp battery would be about £15 000 said a Ministry spokesman.

The spokesman added that rising costs had delayed the decision on what type of grinding plant would be most suitable, but it was hoped that an economical ball mill would be in operation shortly.

## Zimbabwe's Mineral Mainstay

**THAT MOST ALLURING** of metals — gold — is and will continue to be a mainstay of Zimbabwe's economy. If the world price of this most valuable of commodities holds firm then it will play an increasingly important role in this country's future financial relations with the rest of the world.

Regardless of boom or recession gold is today proving a more stable form of monetary exchange than paper currencies.

Political or economic upheavals notwithstanding the security of investing in the world's most precious and valuable ore is unshaken.

Hence the need, according to Dr Bob Foster of Zimbabwe's Institute of Mining, for a major rethink on exploration in this country, or a new appraisal on the potential of former mining operations.

Dr Foster reports that until 1943 only 300 of 6 000 registered mines produced more than 10 000 oz of ore.

Of those, 30 were from banded iron deposits (ironstones) and from the total only 50 have shed more than 100 000 oz from agglomerate or vein-carrying rock.

As for the future, while he is optimistic about extraction rates, Dr Foster maintains it is virtually impossible to predict the potential gold output of Zimbabwe because of little information on why established or prospective mines have closed down in the past.

Even so, Zimbabwe is the eighth largest gold producer in the non-communist world and the main source of the ore in the continent outside South Africa which supplied 700.3 tonnes of gold last year out of 962.4 tonnes from the West.

Two kinds of gold bearing rock formations are found in this country — ironstones and felsic tuff, better known as agglomerates.

Firstly, the ironstones — banded iron formations — are basically chemical precipitates formed millions of years ago beneath the sea containing iron sulphides, oxides and carbonates.

These are known to geologists as "greenstones".

As volcanic rocks they are among the oldest to be found here and are a valuable source of gold.

The main mining area stretches from roughly around Gatooma down to Gwelo with another band between north-west of Bulawayo south to Gwanda.

It is this type of rock which Dr Foster maintains should be looked at again.

"We need now to re-interpret banded iron formations which have accounted for 12 percent of gold production to date.

"The problem is that they are low grade deposits, but more accessible in view of the world price of gold today it should be economically feasible in most cases to mine them.

He maintains that geologists have misidentified these rock formations in the past, thinking them to be non-volcanic whereas modern research has proved them to be the opposite.

The type of rock, from which 85 percent of Zimbabwe's gold supply is recovered, is in the form of veins formed by cracks in the earth's surface through which water flowed at temperatures of up to 600 C.

As the water rose closer to the surface it cooled and the minerals it carried in solution were precipitated on the sides of the cracks or fractures at between 400 C and 100 C thus creating what are today quartz gold producing deposits.

So long as recovery continues to be economically feasible in Zimbabwe its value can only enhance the future prospects for this country.

## Bright Future for the Industry

**ZIMBABWE'S** mining industry is poised for an economic boom following the lifting of sanctions. Several foreign and local companies had expressed interest to explore and mine a variety of minerals found in the country.

In an interview, deputy director of the Geological Survey Department, Mr Neil Harrison said there had been a number of requests from foreign companies wanting to know the whole range of existing minerals.

Local mining companies were interested in expanding their activities and increase production. "We have had inquiries from both local and foreign mining companies."

The main minerals found in Zimbabwe were gold, asbestos, nickel, copper, coal, chrome, tin, iron ore, silver and cobalt. Inquiries had been received from the United States, France, Yugoslavia, Romania, Mozambique, West Germany and South Africa.

Mr Harrison said one of the country's giant mining groups, the Anglo American Corporation had applied for a licence to prospect for uranium near Lake Kariba.

More interest had been shown in gold because of its high price on the world market. Mineral value was likely to increase and this would enable lower ore grades to be mined.

"What was uneconomic last year at low price might be economic this year at high price," Mr Harrison said.

If the price of gold slumped, there were other minerals to earn revenue. Gold contributed 25 percent of the country's mineral revenue.

According to Mr Harrison, there were 36 minerals mined in the country by large and small companies as well as individual miners.

Another mineral which had attracted prospectors and local mining firms was tantalite used in metal alloys. It existed in small quantities and was suitable for small mining operations.

Large companies would bring in more revenue to undertake exploration. Any prospecting company would spend money because it took up to five years for a large mine to be fully operational.

Fieldwork, discontinued in 1977 because of the war, would resume next year, said Mr Harrison. The exercise involved mapping out rocks throughout the country.

It defined areas of exploration by mining companies and narrowed their prospecting areas. The geological survey department offered consultancy services to the mining companies.



## ECONOMIST WARNS ON PRICES

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 13

[Text]

"WE are riding on the air of our pants," said Salisbury agricultural economist, Mr Eddy Cross, when discussing the Government's lack of firm policy on fixed crop prices.

Mr Cross, chief economist for the Agricultural Marketing Authority of Zimbabwe, was addressing overseas, and local, delegates on marketing, national and regional systems and infrastructure, at the international economic resources conference.

He said Zimbabwe had come to independence with a sophisticated and well based economy, that must under no circumstances be impaired.

Mr Cross outlined the policies and methods of the various marketing organisations including the Dairy Marketing Board, the Grain Marketing Board, and the Cotton Marketing Board.

He also said the Cold Storage Commission played a major role in the marketing affairs of Zimbabwe, and that this year would account for a \$160 million turnover.

Tobacco was run as a completely separate unit, because it was so important to the country. Zimbabwe, he said, produced 8 percent of world tobacco, and accounted for 15 percent of the world export figure.

He said the rumour that Zimbabwe was supplying Zambia with cheese and other products and thus depriving local markets was "claptrap".

Mr Cross warned those companies which operated monopolies to "look to your laurels" for no matter how well financed they were, then monopolies would not be secure in the future.



## GOVERNMENT RENT CONTROLS WELCOMED

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 13

## [Excerpt]

THE announcement of Government-controlled rents for lodgers in the former African townships has been welcomed in Salisbury.

The Minister of Local Government and Housing, Mr Eddison Zvobgo, announced this week he was preparing legislation which would make it illegal for anyone to rent a room in the local government areas for more than \$10 a month.

He also accused landlords of charging lodgers exorbitant rents at a time when the housing shortage was critical.

The decision was yesterday described by prominent people connected with African housing as "a step in the right direction".

The secretary of St Mary's Area Board in Salisbury, Mr Benny Moyo, said his board welcomed the Minister's stand because exploitation by landlords had been going on for several years in the townships.

"This caused many people to have no accommodation because they could not afford the rent."

Mr Moyo said there were more than 10 000 unregistered lodgers in St Mary's alone.

These lodgers are being overcharged by their landlords. The charges range from \$12 to \$21 a month. And in many cases there are more than two lodgers in one room who are charged an exorbitant rent.

He added it was cruel for African landlords to take advantage of the house shortage in Salisbury and "exploit their own people like this".

He also said the overcrowding was causing disease.

Councillor Norman Henry said the Minister had done the right thing in principle to protect people from being exploited and also to "prevent overcrowding in the townships".

He said there were possible other ramifications which would affect house-

holders and possibly reduce the availability of lodger accommodation.

"But I endorse the Minister's move as a protection against those people who have been exploiting others."

He appealed to Mr Zvobgo to fully support the city council's housing inspectorate in implementing "this new ruling".

Mr R. Nyenya, president of the Zimbabwe Area Board Association, said he would like more details before he could comment.

"But I must say I am very disappointed that the Minister did not consult us before making his decision."

A Highfield lodger, Mr F. Chinyemba, said this was the "most welcome news".

"Landlords have been exploiting lodgers. I have been paying \$20 for a Black Hole of Calcutta-like room. This is cruel."

A Saki lodger, Lamuk Zulu, said "I am happy with the Minister's move. We are being exploited terribly."

# PURPOSE OF ECONOMICS SYMPOSIA EXPLAINED

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 12

[From the letters to the editor]

[Text]

SIR — Two important symposia are being held at the University of Zimbabwe this month.

The first — Zimbabwe Land of Opportunity — began on Monday and ends tomorrow. It is an economic resources symposium and is being hosted by the Zimbabwe Promotion Council (ZPC).

The other is the economic symposium being hosted by the Zimbabwe Economic Society (ZES). Its theme is Zimbabwe Economic Development Prospects and Perspectives.

Since the ZES economic symposium Press release published in The Herald, we have received numerous inquiries from your readers and others seeking clarification concerning the nature, purposes and relationship between the two symposia. This significant interest by the public to economic matters is very much appreciated by ZES but a significant amount of the inquiries have indicated some misunderstanding and in some cases confusion about the nature, character and purpose of the two symposia.

## INVESTORS

The manner in which the two symposia have been presented to the public and the fact that they are taking place within three days of each other are largely responsible for the misunderstanding and confusion in the minds of the public.

The main purpose of the ZPC symposium is to inform and acquaint potential investors (largely foreign investors) of the economic resources of our country so as to enable them to appreciate the wide range of investment opportunities that this country offers. It is an investment promotion symposium.

The ZES economic symposium is broader and deeper in its coverage. Its main purpose is to analyse, discuss and suggest alternative strategies for economic development in Zimbabwe and its surrounding economic region.

The 40 papers to be presented by local as well as international economic experts will cover not only the major economic sectors of Zimbabwe but will also cover, among other issues, economic development strategies and

system, democracy, a  
dualist and labour rela-  
tions development  
which regional economic  
development, economic  
and development and  
international economic co-  
operation and development.

#### MEANINGFUL

An important one of  
issues will deal with the  
economic development ex-  
periences of and lessons  
to be learned from a  
number of African  
countries.

Attendance at the ZEP  
symposium is open to any  
delegate who is interested  
in the subjects to be  
covered and registers to  
attend the symposium.  
The bulk of the more than  
200 expected delegates  
will consist of junior and  
senior officials of com-  
merce, industry, agricul-  
ture and government as  
well as representatives and  
members of the academic  
community.

Because of the wide  
experience of background  
of the delegates, we have  
made efforts to ensure  
that the papers presented  
at the symposium will be  
delivered in a manner  
which ensures meaningful  
participation and sub-  
stantive to all delegates.

I am sure that after a  
thorough briefing on the  
number of organized  
delegates and our economic  
resources, political re-  
sources attending the ZEP  
symposium may be inter-  
ested in knowing what  
subjects and delegates  
are the ZEP symposium  
discuss the problems for  
economic development in  
Zimbabwe and its sur-  
rounding region are. Be-  
cause of this we at ZEP  
tried to have a large  
meeting and to have our  
symposium, therefore by  
attending three days after  
the ZEP symposium we  
are the ZEP symposium  
delegates to attend our symposium.

I hope this helps in  
understanding of numbers  
which may exist in the  
minds of the public re-  
garding the two symposia.  
The two symposia are  
clearly very different and  
to a degree the ZEP sym-  
posium is the ZEP sym-  
posium.

T. R. MIZONDO

President

Zimbabwe Economic  
Society

# ABATTOIR, GOLD MINE WORKERS STRIKE

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

## **WORKERS at the Cold Storage Commission's Fort Victoria abattoir and at the How gold mine near Bulawayo are on strike.**

About 430 CSC employees have stopped work over the dismissal of four of their colleagues. The strike entered its eighth day yesterday.

Meat supplies have not been affected. Asked to comment, a CSC spokesman said extra staff had been engaged.

"Supplies of beef are continuing to be provided to Fort Victoria outlets," said the spokesman.

The strike, he said, resulted from the "legitimate dismissal" of four employees.

Our correspondent reports from Fort Victoria that the CSC's personnel manager, Mr G. P. Clark, and an industrial relations officer, Mr J. Chingwendere, are in the town in a bid to settle the dispute.

It is believed local MPs of ZANU (PF) addressed the strikers on Monday.

The strike-bound How Mine, about 30 km from Bulawayo off the old Essexvale road, has more than 400 workers.

The management of the mine--part of Lonrho Investment Company--would not comment yesterday on the stoppages.

The miners downed tools three days ago, but a committee to present their grievances to the management has not been formed. One striker alleged the workers had stopped because of "the attitude" of some members of the management.

Fear are being expressed by the Cold Storage management that the strike by its Fort Victoria employees could wreck chances of resuming cattle slaughter there on Monday as planned if a solution could not be found by this weekend.

The Bulawayo-based CSC personnel manager, Mr G. P. Clark, and a Ministry of Labour official, Mr J. Chingwendere,

yesterday met for the first time representatives of the 427 strikers for seven hours in a bid to resolve the eight-day-old dispute.

Mr Chingwendere said talks were expected to resume today, adding that, with goodwill on both sides, a solution might be found soon.

CSO: 4420

# STRIKES WIPED OUT MONEY SURPLUS

Salisbury THE HERALD-BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

**THE** post-election spate of unofficial strikes around the country during April resulted in Zimbabwe's trade surplus of more than \$16m in that month disappearing completely to produce the second deficit since monthly records were started in January 1978.

Exports for May were down almost 10 percent at \$65.8m while imports rose 15.5 percent to \$66.2m, according to the latest Monthly Digest of Statistics.

The mining sector was hardest hit and export revenue dropped \$3m with a

further loss of \$6.8m on sales of iron and steel ingots, bars and rods. Clothing exports were down by an average of 20 percent.

The only bright points were rises in the pharmaceuticals (up 190 percent), rubber tyres which rose sixfold, refined sugar with more than double, coffee sales which tripled and furniture exports, up 68 percent.

The maize shortage was supplemented by the importation of 2 830 tonnes from South Africa, a rise of 55 percent on April.

The biggest share of May's increased import bill, however, went to cars, lorries, accessories and agricultural equipment which accounted for \$7.2m of foreign exchange. Petroleum supplies cost an extra 25 percent at \$12.1m.

CSO: 4420

## NO MERGER YET SAYS ANGLO

Salisbury THE HERALD-BUSINESS HERALD in English 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

**HIPPO Valley's** managing director, Mr Brian Bullett, assured shareholders at last Friday's annual meeting that until Barlow Rand decided on taking up 35 percent option in Triangle Sugar Corporation nothing could be done about considering a merger of these two huge sugar companies.

Business Herald disclosed last week that Anglo American Corporation had taken control of Triangle in early August in a R97.6 million swoop on Huletts Corporation in South Africa which itself controlled Triangle and its subsidiaries through a Luxembourg-based company, Balsierres Holding S.A. Anglo also controls Hippo Valley.

In the wake of this report the matter was raised at the meeting by Salisbury stockbroker Mr Bill Burdett-Coutts.

Mr Bullett, according to an Anglo spokesman, also said that the group would have to be convinced there would be benefits in putting Triangle and Hippo Valley under one roof, bearing in mind the amount of capital already employed and the thousands of staff involved.

This week the Secretary for Transport and Power,

Mr Peter Lamport-Stokes, announced during his address to the International Economic Resources Conference on Zimbabwe, that a second and larger ethanol plant is to be built at Chisumbanje in the Lowveld.

The first ethanol plant, which cost \$5 million, came on stream recently at Triangle.

The second distillery is being planned by the Industrial Development Corporation and when it comes into operation the proportion of ethanol blend in petrol will increase from 15 to 20 percent. Diesel will also contain 15 percent ethanol.

Sources said this week that finance will be provided by private enterprise, directly or indirectly through the IDC.

A suggestion that Anglo American might participate was not ruled out as the company is already an IDC shareholder.

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

Oct. 1, 1980